THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME LV

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

J. R. REA

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PREFACE

ALL forty-five of the items in this volume are documentary, one only from the Ptolemaic period, the rest Roman and Byzantine. Just under half are official, illustrating the government and administration of Egypt (**3777–97**); the others are private documents, with a preponderance of letters (**3806–21**). Only a few of the most interesting ones can be mentioned here. Outstanding for its extent alone is the account roll of a part of the Apion estates; it is nearly three metres long in its not quite complete state. It was used first for the annual account of a steward for AD 565/6 (**3804**) and the back was used later in the estate office for various draft calculations (**3805**). Many of the individual entries are of interest and **3804** as a whole is the most complete specimen of its kind, instructive for monetary and metrological matters and for the rigid system of accounting. The letter of a prefect of Egypt announcing the accession of Hadrian is dated only fourteen days after his *dies imperii*, which graphically illustrates his hasty assumption of power without authorization from the Roman senate (**3781**). The orderly list of Egyptian month names as revised under Gaius brings a simple certainty to the calendar of his reign, hitherto much argued (**3780**). The eminent Persian with the name or title of Saralaneozan makes another appearance in **3797**, a receipt for payments in gold for Oxyrhynchus and Cynopolis. A contract acknowledging the return of a loan illuminates the legalities affecting the families of auxiliary veterans (**3798**). Among the private letters **3812** stands out for its allusions to the celebration of the Roman New Year under the simplified name of the Calends, without naming the month.

About twenty of the texts were taken to Warsaw in summer 1975 and studied with the members of a seminar there. Dr Krzystoff Winnicki produced a typescript of **3799** and Dr Adam Łukaszewicz undertook four other items, **3778–9**, **3782**, and **3784**. These have been revised to bring them up to date by Dr Rea, who has edited all the other documents in the volume and compiled the indexes.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge again the skill of the Oxford University Press, which has worked its usual miracle in giving this difficult material a clear and agreeable presentation.

P. J. PARSONS
J. R. REA
General Editors
Graeco-Roman Memoirs

January 1988

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XLV. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of letters lost are printed slightly below the line. The texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus* where also faults of orthography, etc., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets 〈〉 a mistaken omission in the original, braces {} a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets ⟦⟧ a deletion, the signs ˋ ´ an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. Lastly, heavy arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small roman numerals to columns.

The use of arrows (→, ↓) to indicate the direction of the fibres in relation to the writing has been abandoned for reasons put forward by E. G. Turner, 'The Terms Recto and Verso' (*Actes du XVe Congrès International de Papyrologie* I: Papyrologica Bruxellensia 16 (1978) 64–5), except when they serve to distinguish the two sides of a page in a papyrus codex. In this volume most texts appear to accord with normal practice in being written parallel with the fibres on sheets of papyrus cut from the manufacturer's roll. Any departures from this practice which have been detected are described in the introductions to the relevant items.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*, 3rd edn. (*BASP* Suppl. No. 4, 1985). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PAPYRI PUBLISHED BY THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

I **9**+XXXIV **2687.** On the date of the writing see G. Cavallo, *Libri scritture scribi a Ercolano* 57.
37 ii 3–10 = C.P.Gr.I No. 19.29–36. Cf. AP IX 75, which purports to tell us that a boxer was disinherited because his facial injuries made him unlike his former self as represented in a picture of him produced in evidence by his brother. (J. R. Rea.)
79 = C.P.Gr.II No. 65.
91 = C.P.Gr.I No. 35.
104 25–6. Restore *ἐν οἴκῳ ἐνὶ* [*ἐπιπ*]*έδῳ*. G. Husson, *OIKIA. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Egypte* 81–2.
106 (= M.Chr.308) 22–3. Read *Πέδων Καλλιστράτου*. (R. A. Coles *ap.*) P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 65 (1986) 154 n. 3.
130. On the doubtful date see J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* (Collège de France. Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance) 9 (1985) 66 n. 370.
134 26. For *Ταρουεθ*[(*ίνου*) read *Ταρουεβ*. LV **3804** introd., para. 3.
148 2. Expand *θυρρ*/ to *θυρ*(*ῶν*) instead of *θυρ*(*ωρῶν*). (R. Rémondon *ap.*) G. Husson, *OIKIA. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Egypte* 159 n. 3.
151. For *ῥήτορα* read *Ῥήτορα*. J. Gascou, *CE* 58 (1983) 231.
173 (description). Edition by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 57 (1984) 121–2 = C.P.Gr.II No. 54.
188 (description). Edition by R. Pintaudi, *ZPE* 55 (1984) 164–6.
II **210.** C. H. Roberts, *Misc. Pap. . . . R. Roca-Puig* 293–6.
215. D. Obbink, *Atti del XVII Congresso . . . di Papirologia* (Naples 1983) ii 607–19.
222. A. A. Mosshammer, *GRBS* 23 (1982) 15–30.
237. A. Torrent, *Sodalitas: Scritti . . . A. Guarini* iii 1181–90.
262 = C.P.Gr.II No. 9.
267 (= M. *Chr.* 281). J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Atti del XVII Congresso . . . di Papirologia* (Naples 1983) iii 1267–74.
279 (= W. *Chr.* 348) 13. Restore *ἐν στ*[*ερεοῖς*] *γένεσι*. S. Daris, *Anagennesis* 4 (1986) 182.
299 3. For *ἔντοκα* read *ἐν Τόκα*. A. S. Hunt, C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* I 108 (not in BL, see P. van Minnen, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 91 n. 3.).
301. T. Dorandi, *Scrittura e Civiltà* 8 (1984) 196.
321 = C.P.Gr.I No. 16.
350 (description). Edition by C. Balconi, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 51–3.
352 (description). Ed. ead., loc. cit. pp. 55–7.
354 (description) = P. Lond. III 804. Ed. ead., loc. cit. pp. 49–51; cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 151–2.
355 (description). Ed. ead., loc. cit. pp. 57–60.
356 (description). Ed. ead., loc. cit. pp. 54–5.
377 = C.P.Gr.I No. 21.
378 (description) = P. Lond. III 809. Edition by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 54 (1984) 67, 80.
381. T. Dorandi, *Scrittura e Civiltà* 8 (1984) 192–3, Tav. VIb.
III **413.** A. Melero, *Estudios Clásicos* 25 (1981–3) 11–37.
435. T. Hägg, *Symbolae Osloenses* 59 (1984) 61–91.
466. M. Poliakoff, *Studies in the Terminology of the Greek Combat Sports* (Beitr. z. klass. Philologie, 146) 161–3, 165–71.

473 (= W. *Chr.* 33).8–9. A. Łukaszewicz, *ZPE* 67 (1987) 109–10.
475. P. Roesch, *Centre Jean Palerne. Memoires* iii. *Médecins et Médicine dans l'Antiquité* (ed. G. Sabbah, St Etienne, 1982) 119–29.
498. G. Husson, *OIKIA. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Egypte* 310–13.
574 verso. J. J. O'Hara, *ZPE* 56 (1984) 1 n. 1; 59 (1985) 35.
582. E. Christiansen, *ZPE* 54 (1984) 286.
IV **655** 7–10. R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 54 (1984) 64 (an excerpt, with comments, from T. C. Skeat, *ZNT* 37 (1938) 212).
659 ii–v and frr. L. Lehnus, *BICS* 31 (1984) 61–92, pls. 5–7. ii 36–40. G. W. Most, *ZPE* 64 (1986) 33–8. On the writing see G. Cavallo, *Libri scritture scribi a Ercolano* 54.
664. P. Giannini, *QUCC* 45 = NS 16 (1984) 7–30.
668. H. B. Mattingly, *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 10 (1985) 117–18.
826 (description) = C.P.Gr.II No. 1. On the suggestion of P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 57 (1984) 121, lines 4–5 are restored as *καταχωρισθῆναι τοῦτο [τὸ ὄνομα ἐν] τοῖς παρὰ σοὶ βυβλίοις*, but the plate (C.P.Gr.II Tav. I) seems to show *τουτο* (R. A. Coles) rather than *τοῦτο* (ed. pr.) at the end of line 4. Restore therefore *τὸ ὑπό[μνημα ἐν] τοῖς κτλ.* (J. R. Rea.)
V **842.** P. Harding, *The Ancient History Bulletin* 1.5 (1987) 101–4.
854. P. A. Perotti, *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* NS 16 (1985) 223–31.
878. On the writing see G. Cavallo, *Libri scritture scribi a Ercolano* 54.
901. LIV **3771** is a duplicate.
905. J. E. G. Whitehorne, *APF* 32 (1986) 49–53, esp. 50–1.
912 37. Correct (*ἔτους*) *α*, which the clerk clearly wrote, to (*ἔτους*) *β*. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 54 (1984) 75; M. Peachin, *ZPE* 59 (1985) 75–8, but see already XLVI p. xiv.
957. T. Dorandi, *Scrittura e Civiltà* 8 (1984) 193–4, Tav. VIa.
958. Id., loc. cit. p. 194, Tav. VII.
983. P. Roesch, etc., as above under **475.**
986 iv 4–5. Restore *ἀπὸ συν[θέτ(ης)] πλίνθου*. G. Husson, *OIKIA, Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Egypt* 234.
991. For '*γ ο'* (*sic*, not *π(άγου)*)' read '*γ'* (sc. *πάγου*)'. LV **3795** 13 n.
VII **1019.** C. Lucke, *ZPE* 58 (1985) 21–33, exp. 28–32.
1030 = C.P.Gr.II No. 71.
1044. J. L. Rowlandson, *ZPE* 67 (1987) 283–92.
VIII **1082.** E. Livrea, *Atti del XVII Congresso . . . di Papirologia* (Naples 1983) ii 305–12.
Id., *Studi Cercidei* (PTA 37).
Id., *ZPE* 67 (1987) 37–41.
1083+XXVII **2453.** On the writing see G. Cavallo, *Libri scritture scribi a Ercolano* 55.
1085. A. Garzya, *Atti del XVII Congresso . . . di Papirologia* (Naples 1983) ii 319–25.
1091. T. Dorandi, *Scrittura e Civiltà* 8 (1984) 198, Tav. IVa,b.
1114 2–3. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 68 (1987) 135 n. 3.
1197 17–18. The correction offered in XLIII p. xv had been anticipated by Grenfell and Hunt already in XII **1553** (description). It is not yet in BL, see P. Köln V 229 introd. n. 2. R. A. Coles, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *CE* 61 (1986) 108–10.
1198 = C.P.Gr.II No. 39.
1204. F. G. B. Millar, *JRS* 73 (1983) 91–2.
X **1233**[39]. S. R. Slings in J. M. Bremer *et al.*, *Some Recently Found Greek Poems* (Suppl. Mnemosyne 1987) 72, 80, 92.
1247. On the date of the writing see G. Cavallo, *Libri scritture scribi a Ercolano* 57.
1259 12. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Mnemosyne* ser. 4, 35 (1982) 153–5.
1277. J. R. Rea, *Atti del XVII Congresso . . . di Papirologia* (Naples 1983) iii 1125–6.
1288. To be dated *c.*324–30. R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* 58, cf. 66, 69.
1298. 'A date ca.330 . . . seems indicated'. R. S. Bagnall, op. cit. 58, cf. 66.
XI **1364,** XV **1797.** H. C. Avery, *Hermes* 110 (1982) 145–58.
1380 109–10. J. G. Griffiths, Class. Phil. 80 (1985) 139–41.

112–13, 129. Id., *Philologus* 129 (1985) 196–7.
111–12. M. Kajava, *Arctos* 19 (1985) 45–7.
146–8, 214–15. C. Veligianni-Terzi, *Rhein. Mus.* 129 (1986) 63–76.
1383. L. Deubner, *Kleine Schriften* 201–3.
XII **1433** 26–30, 49–53. G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 50 (1983) 140.
1453 (= P. Select II 327) 3,7. For *Πατ[ο]ῖφι{ο}ϲ* and *Πατοίφι⟨ο⟩ϲ* read *Πατ[ρ]ῖφι{ο}ϲ* and *Πατρίφι⟨ο⟩ϲ*. B. Verbeeck, *ZPE* 70 (1987) 116.
1477 3 (= G. M. Browne, *Sortes Astrampsychi* p. 2 line 74). F. Kudlien, *Historia* 35 (1986) 240–56.
1550 = C.P.Gr.II No. 26.
1551 3 For *[Φαμ]ενώθ* read *[Ϲεβα]ϛτ[ώ]ι*. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 56 (1984) 130–1. = C.P.Gr.II No. 82.
1567. B. Kramer, *ZPE* 61 (1985) 61–2.
XIII **1608**[1, 4]. L. Rossetti, A. Esposito, *ZPE* 54 (1984) 27–35.
1609. M. S. Funghi, *ZPE* 55 (1984) 5–6.
1611. L. Deubner, *Kleine Schriften* 193–8.
1612. Id., op. cit. 198–201.
XIV **1678.** R. W. Daniel, *ZPE* 54 (1984) 85–6.
1717 = C.P.Gr. I No. 38.
1718 3–4. Restore *ἠρίθμημαι παρὰ σοῦ ἐ[ξ ἐπιστάλματος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ] Αὐρηλίου Ζηναγένους*. J. D. Thomas, *YCS* 28 (1985) 123 n. l.19.
J. E. G. Whitehorne, *CE* 61 (1986) 313–17.
1722 1. See below on L **3574** 3–4 n.
1773 40. R. W. Daniel, *ZPE* 54 (1984) 85–6.
XV **1790.** J. Péron, *Rev. Phil.* 56 (1982) 33–56.
L. Woodbury, *Phoenix* 39 (Toronto, 1985) 193–220.
1791. On the writing see G. Cavallo, *Libri scritture scribi a Ercolano* 53.
1797. See above on XI **1364.**
1800. V. di Benedetto, *SCO* 32 (1982) 217–30.
1826. J. N. O'Sullivan, *ZPE* 56 (1984) 39–44.
XVI **1830** 4. For *χόγιμ(ον)—χοψιμ∫* pap.—read *χοψιμ(ώτατον)*, see P. Rainer Cent. 125.5 and n.
9. For a suggested interpretation see P. Rainer Cent. 125 comm. ad fin.
15–16 Read *καὶ ὦ⟨ν⟩ ⟨εἰ⟩δέναι ἔχυεν* (= *ἔχοιεν*; l. *ἔχοι*) *[[τ]] ἡ ὑμετέρα εὐδοκίμησις* (ϛ corr. from *γ*), *ἀναφέρω τὰ πάντα*. J. R. Rea from a photograph; cf. P. Rainer Cent. 125.17–19 n.
1834 6. For *Προξίμου* write *προξίμου*. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 68 (1987) 158.
1836 6. For *ἐπίκ(τη)* read *ἐπικ(ειμένῳ)*. LV **3805** 35 n.
1862 11b. J. Arce, *ZPE* 61 (1985) 31–2.
1892 2. Delete *Νέου* from the restoration. K. A. Worp, *BASP* 22 (1985) 360.
1911. Numerous small corrections in the notes to LV **3804** 102 ff.
1913 3. For *ἀρδε(υειν)* read and expand *ἀρδ(είαν)*. LV **3804** 268 n.
1921. J. M. Carrié, *Les 'dévaluations' à Rome* ii 260, n. 4, cf. J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* (Collège de France, Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance) 9 (1985) 46 and n. 265, 75 n. 424.
2051 45. For *ἐπίκ(τη)* read *ἐπικ(ειμένῳ)*. LV **3805** 35 n.
2057. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 69 (1987) 170.
XVII **2102.** G. Menci, *SCO* 32 (1982) 249–52 and Tav. XXVII.
2114 10. Read perhaps *ὀπιψ{ν}ιατόρων*. J. D. Thomas, *YCS* 28 (1985) 118.
XVIII **2165.** L. Deubner, *Kleine Schriften* 691–704.
2165[6]. A. M. van Erp Taalman Kip in J. M. Bremer *et al.*, *Some Recently Found Greek Poems* (Suppl. Mnemosyne 1987) 96.
2174[9]. C. Miralles, *QUCC* 43, NS 14 (1983) 7–16.
2176 (cf. XVIII pp. 184–5; XIX pp. 153–4). S. R. Slings in J. M. Bremer *et al.*, *Some Recently Found Greek Poems* (Suppl. Mnemosyne 1987) 70–94.
2180[39, 46, 48]. T. F. Brunner, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 295.

2186 5. Omit *θεοῦ* from the restoration. A. Martin, *CE* 60 (1985) 170.
2195 48. For *νο(μ.)* ⌊ *κδ′ μη′* read *νο(μ.)* ⌊ *ιβ̄ μη̄*. LV **3805** 35 n.
92, 191. For *οἰκοδομ(ῆς)* and *οἰκοδόμ(ων)* read *οἰκοδόμ(ου)*. LV **3804** 151 n.
2205 3, 10. For both *χωμάτ(ων) ἐπικ(ειμένου)* and *χωμάτ(ων) ἐπικειμ(ένου)* read *χωματεπίκτ(ου)* = *χωματεπείκτου*. LV **3805** 35 n.
XIX **2221.** Another fragment of the same roll is now published as P. Köln V 206.
2222 fr. A. E. Van't Dack, *Althistorische Studien . . . H. Bengtson* (Historia Einzelschrift 40) 114–15.
2225. V. Gigante Lanzara, *Parola del Passato* 39 (1984) 279–80.
2226. N. Hopkinson, *Callimachus: Hymn to Demeter.*
2243 (a) 79. For *οἰκοδόμ(ων)* read *οἰκοδόμ(ου)*. LV **3804** 151 n.
2244 65. For *Ϛχολαστικοῦ* read *Ϛχολαστικίου*. LV **3804** 235 n.
XX **2256**[3]. H. F. Johansen, E. W. Whittle, *Aeschylus: The Suppliants* i 21–5.
2258. A. S. Hollis, *CQ* NS 36 (1986) 467–71.
2258A[9(c)]. N. Hopkinson, *Callimachus: Hymn to Demeter.*
2258B[2]. N. Krevans, *ZPE* 65 (1986) 37–8.
2262. A. Kerkhecker, *ZPE* 71 (1988) 16–24.
2285 7. R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 56 (1984) 131. (They suggest that 'year 2, Thoth 5' most probably refers to the reign of Claudius II, but convert it wrongly to February–March 270, whereas it would be 2 September, AD 269. J. R. Rea.)
XXI **2298**[1]. W. Rösler, *Actes du VIIe Congrès de la F.I.E.C.* i 187–90.
2303[1]. A. M. van Erp Taalman Kip in J. M. Bremer *et al.*, *Some Recently Found Greek Poems* (Suppl. Mnemosyne 1987) 95–127.
XXII **2310**[1] i 1–39. S. R. Slings, ibid. 1–23.
2318. On the writing see G. Cavallo, *Libri scritture scribi a Ercolano* 50.
2332 31 ff. L. Koenen, *ZPE* 54 (1984) 9–13.
2343. R. A. Coles, *ZPE* 61 (1985) 110–14.
XXIII **2359.** On the writing see G. Cavallo, *Libri scritture scribi a Ercolano* 51.
2360. F. Maltomini, *SCO* 34 (1984) 67.
2368 7–20. W. Luppe, *ZPE* 69 (1987) 9–12.
2376–7. S. M. Medaglia, *Atti del XVII Congresso . . . Papirologia* (Naples 1983) ii 297–304.
2382. J. A. S. Evans, *GRBS* 26 (1985) 229–33.
XXIV **2383.** K. Aland, *Misc. Pap. R. Roca-Puig* 37–61.
2387[80–81]. M. Davies, *ZPE* 64 (1986) 13–14.
2388[1] 4–7. M. Davies, *ZPE* 65 (1986) 25–7.
2396. T. Dorandi, *Scrittura e Civiltà* 8 (1984) 196.
2399. On the writing see G. Cavallo, *Libri scritture scribi a Ercolano* 51.
S. Berger, *ZPE* 71 (1988) 93–6.
2406. G. Husson, *OIKIA. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Egypte* 308–10.
2421. 'Date (to be cautious) *ca.*312–23'. R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* 57.
XXV **2433.** T. Dorandi, *Scrittura e Civiltà* 8 (1984) 197.
2451. G. A. Privitera, *Studi . . . A. Colonna* 255–6.
XXVII **2453.** See above on VIII **1083.**
2455[1] 1–4. W. Luppe, *Anagennesis* 4 (1986) 51–8.
2455[6] 50–7. W. Luppe, *ZPE* 55 (1983) 135–9.
2455[6]. Id., *SCO* 32 (1982) 231–3.
2455[4+13; 18]. Id., *ZPE* 60 (1985) 16–20.
2455[4+141]. Id., *ZPE* 65 (1986) 29–30.
2455[6]. Id., *Anagennesis* 4 (1986) 223–43 and Pl. XIII.
2455[14] iii. Id., *Philologus* 127 (1983) 135–9.
2455[14+78]. Id., *APF* 32 (1986) 5–13.
2455[17+14+19]. Id., *APF* 30 (1984) 31–7.
2455[17] xviii–xix. Id., *Anagennesis* 3 (1983) 187–200 and Pl. IV.
2460. M. T. Ditefeci, *Prometheus* 10 (1984) 210–20.

2466. J. N. O'Sullivan, *ZPE* 56 (1984) 39–44.
2478. P. Frisch, *Zehn Agonistische Papyri* No. 3.
2479 2 n. On *Κινέα* add PSI III 196.1; 197.1. The village belonged to the imperial estates, but was administered (or acquired or appropriated?) by the Apion family. J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 77.
XXIX **2506**[36] ii 25–7. F. Montanari, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 46–8.
2506[36] ii. F. Maltomini, *ZPE* 71 (1988) 91–2.
2506[77] 25–31. R. Führer, *ZPE* 54 (1984) 40.
2506[115]. E. Contiades-Tsitsoni, *ZPE* 71 (1988) 1–7.
XXX **2509.** R. Janko, *Phoenix* 38 (Toronto 1984) 299–307.
XXXI **2535.** On the writing see G. Cavallo, *Libri scritture scribi a Ercolano* 53.
2562. New edition: LIV **3767.**
2564 = C.P.Gr.II No. 44 (with correction of the date to 25.vi.153).
2570. New edition: LIV **3766.**
2585 3–4. LIV p. 224.
2610 = P. Frisch, *Zehn Agonistische Papyri* No. 5.
2617[13]. F. Maltomini, *SCO* 34 (1984) 67–70.
XXXII **2624.** M. Van der Weiden, *ZPE* 64 (1986) 15–32.
XXXIII **2654.** On the writing see G. Cavallo, *Libri scritture scribi a Ercolano* 53.
2661. T. F. Brunner, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 295–6.
2673. G. W. Clarke, *ZPE* 57 (1984) 103–4. A scrap of a very similar document, dated four days later on 9.ii.304, has been published as P. Harr. II 208.
2673 22. For *χαλκῆν ὕλην* (see *ZPE* 35 (1979) 128) cf. AP XI 371.3–6:
ἀργυρέην ὕλην (= silver plate) *οὐ τρώγομεν, ἣν παραβάλλεις*
λιμῷ κρητίζων τοὺς μελέους πίνακας.
ζήτει νηστεύοντας ἐς ἀργυρέην ἐπίδειξιν,
καὶ τότε θαυμάζῃ κοῦφον ἄσημον ἔχων. (J. R. Rea.)
XXXIV **2687**+I **9.** On the writing see G. Cavallo, *Libri scritture scribi a Ercolano* 57.
2708. H. G. Pflaum, *Les Carrières procuratoriennes* (Supplément 1983) 62–3, No. 242 *bis.*
2717. LV **3789** introd., note (1) to Table.
2719. R. W. Daniel, *ZPE* 54 (1984) 85–6.
D. P. Fowler, *ZPE* 59 (1985) 45–6.
2728. 'A date between 312 and 318 seems probable, although 308–12 is not completely excluded.' R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* 57, cf. 66.
2729. J. M. Carrié, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 203–27 and pls. between 208 and 209. (Note that in 12–13 the unread remains are not compatible with the reading [*μυριά*]*δ(ων)* [*τάλ(αντον)*] *α′* (see ib. p. 207 n. 8), and that the expression 'le talent de myriades' makes no sense. 'Myriad' is a collective noun denoting 10,000 items of whatever kind, including talents. A talent consists of 6,000 drachmas but does not denote a collection of 6,000 items of any other kind. J. R. Rea.)
2729. To be dated 'early-mid-350s'. R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* 17, 45–6.
XXXV **2734**[1]. F. Cairns, *QUCC* 42, NS 13 (1983) 29–35.
2737. W. Luppe, *ZPE* 54 (1984) 15–16.
XXXVI **2761** = C.P.Gr.II No. 51 (with correction of the date to AD 161–9).
2783 24. For *τάμροι* (interpreted as *ταῦροι*) read probably *γαμροί* = *γαμβροί*, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 70, citing five other examples of this phonetic spelling. In the translation read 'brothers-in-law' for 'bulls' and delete 24 n. (J. R. Rea.)
XXXVII **2812** 36–9. W. Luppe, *Hermes* 114 (1986) 492–5.
2820. H. Hauben, *Atti del XVII Congresso . . . di Papirologia* (Naples 1983) iii 1085–97.
2826. A. Borgogno, *Prometheus* 11 (1985) 211–17.
XXXVIII **2837** = C.P.Gr.II No. 7.
2854. 27–8. Cf. P. Flor. I 77.2. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Aegyptus* 66 (1986) 156 No. 71.
2855. It was not noticed that the two copies of this item had once been held together by a

narrow strip of papyrus knotted after passing through vertical slits in the left margins about 3 cm from the top. This strip is now broken, but the knot survives and one end still passes through the slit in copy A. Cf. especially L **3574** introd. and Pl. XVI. (J. R. Rea.)

XXXIX **2888.** E. Gangutia, *Philologus* 130 (1986) 187–90.

XL B. H. Kraut, *ZPE* 55 (1984) 180–7, publishes three applications for a grain distribution addressed to the exegetes of Hermopolis by persons claiming past service as ephebes, i.e. full citizenship of the metropolis. He implies that this was a regular institution comparable with the grain doles of Rome, Oxyrhynchus, etc. It might have been an emergency measure, as the language suggests: No. 3.8–9 *[μ]ὴ ἔχων πυρῶν* (= *-όν*), No. 4.8 *[στ]εροῦμαι . . .*, No. 5.6–7 *μὴ ἔχοντός μ[ο]υ πυρόν*. (J. R. Rea.)

XLI **2948.** C. Lucke, *ZPE* 58 (1985) 21–33, esp. 32–3.

2954. H. A. Rupprecht, *Symposion* (1979) 289–301.

2957 = C.P.Gr.II No. 17.

XLII **3006.** T. F. Brunner, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 295–6.

3010 29. C. MacLeod, *Collected Essays* 306–8; from *ZPE* 15 (1974) 159–61.

3020 ii 1. Cf. S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power* 34 and n. 41, citing *IGR* iv 1506.

3040 7. For *τρ]ιακοσίας* read *τ]ριακοσίας*. LV **3789** introd., note (7) to Table.

3042 1. For *ἐπικεφαλαίου* read *ἐπικεφαλίου*. LV **3789** 1 n.

3047. J. L. Rowlandson, *ZPE* 67 (1987) 283–92.

3054. M. Sartre, *Syria* 59 (1982) 77–91.

3057. G. R. Stanton, *ZPE* 54 (1984) 49–63.

3060 3. For *Σπανήν* read *σπανήν*, and in the translation for 'Spanish' read 'grey-black'.

XLIII **3092** 5 n. (p. 12 n. 1), cf. D. W. Rathbone, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 105 (note 2), on the dating of the end of the recognition of Caracalla in Egypt, and the anomaly of O. Deissm. 79, then not located. Most of the ostraca of the Deissmann collection are now at the Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney, New South Wales 2006, Australia, see S. R. Pickering, *Papyrus Editions: Supplement* (1985) p. 10 s.v. P. Meyer.

O. Deissm. 79 (P. Meyer p. 200) now has the museum inventory number 36.74. Through the kindness of Mr Pickering and Mr Ted Robinson of the Nicholson Museum, who supplied a photograph, it has been possible to confirm the suggestion that the reign is that of Commodus, not Caracalla, i.e. in line 2 read *Κομμόδου* (instead of *Μάρκου*) *Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος*, cf. P. Bureth, *Les titulatures* 88. The date *Φαῶφι ιθ τοῦ κς* (*ἔτους*) is therefore equivalent to 16(?) October 185 (not 217), and the anomaly is removed. (J. R. Rea.)

3109 23–4. H.-G. Pflaum, *Les Carrières, Suppl.* (1982) 97, No. 353A. (This item contradicts my note by assigning the activity of M. Antonius Vitellianus in S. Italy to a period before his epistrategiate, i.e. *c.*250. I had followed Pflaum iii p. 1041, where the Italian post is said to be centenarian, and p. 1090, where the epistrategiate of the Heptanomia is said to be sexagenarian. J. R. Rea.)

3112. M. Sordi, *Studi . . . A. Adriani* i 40 n. 9, 41 n. 16.

3116. P. Frisch, *Zehn Agonistische Papyri* No. 10.

3119. M. Sordi, *Studi . . . A. Adriani* i 40 n. 9, 42 n. 17.

3121. J. R. Rea, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 79–80.

3129. Dr J. D. Thomas has given reason to think that at the date of this papyrus, AD 335, the official term for the new style of strategus was *exactor* and that therefore the readings *ςτρ.*[(1) and *ς[τ]ρ[ατηγῷ* (11) in this letter should be revised, see *CR* 91 NS 27 (1977) 89 (BL VII 157).

He suggested that the official might be a syndic. A new examination has confirmed this in full, with the discovery that the name which I read on the back, *Συνεσίωι* (11), is a false reading of *συνδίκῳ*! In line 1 read now, therefore, *ςυν*[*δίκῳ*, which fully agrees with the traces, in place of *ςτρ.*[.

There is a minor residual problem in the reading of the address on the back, originally given in the form (11–12):

Συνεσίωι ς[τ]ρ[ατηγῷ
Ὀξ[υρυγχίτου.

After *συνδίκῳ*, replacing *Συνεσίωι*, the traces on the same level can now be seen to suit *Ὀξ[υρυγχίτου*. A point of ink low down on the right especially suits xi. Nothing more is needed, but there are still traces in line 12 to be explained. They are badly damaged feet of letters only, but they still look most like *ο̣ξ[*, although Dr Coles pointed out to me that if *Ὀξυρυγχίτου* had been written again in full, we would expect to see further traces of at least the rho. He suggests that the abbreviated form *οξ[* ′ may have been written here because this would have fallen opposite the proper address on the other side of the flat spill into which the letter was folded and might have helped to identify it more easily at some stage of its journey.

To sum up: read 1–2 as:

Φλάουϊος Φιλάγριος ςυν[δίκῳ
Ὀξυρυγχ[ε]ίτου χαίρ[ειν,

and 11–12 as: *συνδίκῳ Ὀξ[υρυγχίτου*
..[,

with the note: 'in 12 *οξ[*᾽] = *Ὀξ(υρυγχίτου*) may have been written (R. A. Coles)'. (J. R. Rea.)

3138 2 n. Add M. Speidel, *Aegyptus* 66 (1986) 163–5.

3141 = C.P.Gr.II No. 81

3144 1–2 n. The note is mistaken because PSI IX 1038 = P. Sakaon 6 of 28 July is five days later than **3144** and still makes use of the name of Maximinus Daia.

XLIV **3168** 12. On *Τεχύμεω(c)*—not *Τεχύμ(εως)*—see W. Brashear, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 239.

3169 48, 58. For *κλ(ηρονόμων) Ceουήρου* read *Κλ(αυδίου) Ceουήρου*, cf. P. Köln III 143.11, 15. (J. L. Rowlandson).

3171. G. Messeri, *Anagennesis* 4 (1986) 59–62.

3189 5–6. For *Εὐτρυγίου* read *Εὐτονίου*. LIV p. 226.

3194 16. For *τῷ δημ(οσίῳ) τρα(πεζίτῃ)* read e.g. *δη(μοσίων) χρη(μάτων) τρα(πεζ-)*. J. D. Thomas, *YCS* 28 (1985) 119. (I think *τῷ δημ(οσίων) χρ(ημάτων) τρ(απεζίτῃ)* is consistent with the very faded remains: *χρ∫* and *τρ∫* seem fairly recognizable, *τῷ δημ∫*(?) acceptable in the context. J. R. Rea).

3204. J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 77–8.

XLV **3211.** T. F. Brunner, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 296.

3245. P. Roesch, see above under III **475.**

XLVI **3268** 12. Restore probably *σύν[π(αντι) ἀργ(υρίου)]*: P. Harr. II 194.12 and n.

3272 introd. para. 1. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 54 (1984) 67, cf. LI p. xv.

3285. For bibliography see J. Modrzejewski, *RHDFE* 57 (1979) 131–2, 474; 58 (1980) 518; 60 (1982) 472–3; 61 (1983) 470–2; 62 (1984) 478–9. id., *Folia Juridica* 21 (1986 = Symbolae C. Kunderewicz) 11–44. S. Allam, *CE* 61 (1986) 63–4.

3312 11–13 and n. Cf. P. Guyot, *Eunuchen als Sklaven und Freigelassene* 193 No. 30, citing Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 12.12, *Marcelli Aesernini libertus, sed qui se polentiae causa* (cf. *ἵνα ὀπίκια* (*officia*) *λάβ[ῃ*, 13) *Caesaris libertis adoptasset.* (J. R. Rea.)

3314 introd. For another Christian Judas cf. E. D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage* 45 and n. 85. He was the last bishop of Jerusalem of Jewish origin, martyred under Hadrian. (J. R. Rea.)

XLVII **3318.** T. Dorandi, *Scrittura e Civiltà* 8 (1984) 195, Tav. V.

3319. J. N. O'Sullivan, *ZPE* 56 (1984) 39–44.

3355. On *μονόχωρον, αἴθρα,* and *ἀρτοφύγιον* see G. Husson, *ZPE* 61 (1985) 69–70.

3367. P. Frisch, *Zehn Agonistische Papyri* No. 9.

XLVIII **3368–70.** A. Barigazzi, *Prometheus* 11 (1985) 97–125.

3376[44]. T. F. Brunner, *ZPE* 69 (1987) 229–30.

3429. Dated 'ca.375–85?': R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* 62, cf. 69.

XLIX **3445** 767. S. West, *CQ* 33 (1983) 117.

3472 19 n. On *Θενεπμοῖ* see J. Quaegebeur *et al.*, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 225 n. 49.

3473. E. Battaglia, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 79–99; F. Burkhalter, *ZPE* 59 (1985) 131 n. 17.
3474 14. At the end of the line for ιϛ read ιζ, see translation. (J. D. Thomas.)
3477 introd. para. 3. The statement that the buyer's husband in XII **1463** is an Antinoite citizen is erroneous. He was an Alexandrian. (J. E. G. Whitehorne.)
3482 32 and n. LV **3777** 13 and n.
3507. 'A date of 308–312 seems most likely': R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* 66. (Note, however, the arguments in ed. pr. introd. p. 250. J. R. Rea.)
3510 = C.P.Gr.II No. 15.
L **3532–3.** M. Gronewald, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 1–13.
3537. M. L. West, *ZPE* 57 (1984) 33–6; A. Barigazzi, *Prometheus* 11 (1985) 1–10.
3538. M. L. West, *ZPE* 57 (1984) 23–32.
3544. W. Luppe, *ZPE* 59 (1985) 23–6.
3555 24–8. D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 65 (1986) 88.
3574 3–4 n. G. M. Bowersock, *ZPE* 56 (1984) 221–2. P. Mayerson, *ZPE* 64 (1986) 139–40. The statement that *Αἰγύπ[του Ἡρκουλίας* can be restored in XIV **1722** 1 must now be modified to allow the alternative *Αἰγύπ[του Μερκουριανῆς*, see J. D. Thomas, *BASP* 21 (1984) 225–34. (J. R. Rea.)
4–5 n. See now D. Feissel, *BCH* 108 (1984) 558–63, 579.
3577 introd. para. 2. An earlier instance of a Roman date in the left margin of a letter is IGR iv 349 = SIG³ ii 831, dated 11 November 117.
3590 6. For *ναί* at the foot of oracle questions see now K. Treu, *APF* 32 (1986) 29–30.
3595–7. J. Hengstl, *Studi . . . A. Biscardi* iv 663–73.
LI **3611** 22. J. Modrzejewski, *RHDFE* 62 (1984) 480.
3614 3. For *τῇ πατρίῳ φωνῇ* alluding to Latin cf. Athen. VI 261c, referring to Sulla's composition of 'satyr comedies' (*σατυρικαὶ κωμῳδίαι*). (J. R. Rea.)
3616 4. The suggestions of *πάλλιον* or *παλαιόν* (J. G. Keenan, *BASP* 20 (1983) 182) have been checked and found unsuitable to the remains. Of course, *πάχυ{ν}* remains very uncertain. (J. R. Rea.)
3617 10–12. For a parallel in a nineteenth century newspaper advertisement from the southern United States see J. G. Keenan, *BASP* 20 (1983) 182.
3618 12 n. For *σάγγαθον* also in P. Lond. IV see J. Gascou, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 258.
3619 introd. p. 47, No. 14. For 'ChLA X 407' read 'ChLA XVIII 661'.
9 n. It is possible that *r(espondit)* is the right expansion also in two cases of a similar abbreviation in CPL 245 = C. Wessely, *Schrifttafeln* No. 24. These introduce marginalia on a leaf of a legal codex of which the main text is mostly lost. (J. R. Rea.)
3620 9. For *Οὐϊκτωρᾶ* cf. *AE* 1982 No. 407 (*Victora* fem. in Latin). (J. R. Rea.)
17–18 and n. With *μέαν ἐπισταλῖσαν* compare now P. Gen. II 103 ii 10, where a new reading by Dr Wehrli shows that an official subscribed the pregnant widow's petition with the direction *ἐπιστέλλου μέαν* (l. *μαῖαν*), 'Instruct a midwife'. In *ZPE* 67 (1987) 117 Dr Wehrli appears on the verge of withdrawing his new reading, which in my opinion should be retained and welcomed. (J. R. Rea.)
To the bibliography add S. Adam, 'La femme enceinte dans les papyrus', *Anagennesis* 3 (1983) 9–19.
3624 19 n. The *nomen* of Censorius Datianus, not in PLRE I, was in fact known already from CIL XI 5434, see R. S. Bagnall *et al.*, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 250.
3626 24. Expand *στιχ(άριον)*. LIV **3776** 24 n.
3637 14 n. See now LV **3797.**
3640. J. G. Keenan, *BASP* 20 (1983) 183; cf. E. Teeter, *JEA* 73 (1987) 71–7 and esp. pls. VII.3 and VIII, with illustrations depicting coils of rope (*κρίκια*).
3641 6 n. J. G. Keenan, *BASP* 20 (1983) 183.
3643. id., ibid.
LII **3650.** D. Kovacs, *HSCP* 88 (1984) 47–70; M. Huys, *Ant. Class.* 54 (1985) 240–53, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 9–36; W. Luppe, *ZPE* 63 (1986) 7–10; N. R. Shopina, *VDI* 176 (1986; fasc. 1) 117–30.

53–65. W. Luppe, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 12–16.
3652 16–31. W. Luppe, *APF* 32 (1986) 5–13.
3653[2] i 21–2;[1] 1–5. D. F. Sutton, *ZPE* 61 (1985) 15–17; 17–18.
[2] ii 25. W. Luppe, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 11.
3656 ii 1–7. M. Gigante, *Par. Pass.* 40 (1985) 69.
3689 = C.P.Gr.II No. 74 *bis*.
LIII **3699.** W. Luppe, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 15–16.
3700. V. N. Jarcho, *ZPE* 70 (1987) 32–4.
3702. W. Luppe, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 17–18.
3710 ii 43–7, iii 7–11. M. L. West, *ZPE* 67 (1987) 16; S. N. Mouraviev, *ZPE* 71 (1988) 32–4.
3711[1] ii 32. M. R. Lefkowitz, H. Lloyd-Jones, *ZPE* 68 (1987) 9–10.
3720. R. Führer, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 19–22.
P. Ant. I–III (medical items). M.-H. Marganne, 'La Collection Médicale d'Antinoopolis', *ZPE* 56 (1984) 117–21.
I 21. T. Dorandi, *Scrittura e Civiltà* 8 (1984) 199, Tav. Vb.
40.7. For *προσεμαρ(τύρησε)* read *πρὸς ἐμαί* (= *ἐμέ*). LV **3807** 33 n.
46. 'A date ca.337–348 is likely.' R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* 58, cf. 66.
II 110.4. For *ὑπερφ(υεστάτης)* expand *ὑπερφ(υοῦς)*. J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 41 n. 245.
III 113[1(b)]. A. Harder, *ZPE* 67 (1987) 21–30.
123. M.-H. Marganne, *Centre Jean Palerne. Mémoires* iii. *Médecins et Médicine dans l'Antiquité* (ed. G. Sabbah, St Etienne, 1982) 81–4.
160. M. J. Apthorp, *ZPE* 57 (1984) 52.
187b 9–10. Restore *ἀ[πὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλε]ως*. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 70–1.
188. This is perhaps addressed to a *dux Arcadiae*. The expression *ἡ εὐδαίμων* (2, 14) refers to Constantinople. J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 76.
200.1. For *α// πάγου κώμ(ης) Ληναίο`ν' νομοῦ Ἑρμ(ο)π(ολίτου?)* read *α'' πάγου κώμ(ης) Ληναίου λόγ(ος) ἐξουβερ( )*. J. R. Rea, *JEA* 71 (1985): Reviews Supplement 69.
P. Fay 1 C. Lucke, *ZPE* 58 (1985) 25–8.
29 = C.P.Gr.II No. 4.
29.15. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 57 (1984) 121 n. 4.
30 = C.P.Gr.II No. 53.
95.4–5, 7–11, 24, 25–6. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Aegyptus* 65 (1985) 22–3.
143 (description). Edition by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 64 (1986) 117–18, Taf. VIIIa.
237 = C.P.Gr.II No. 68.
238 (description). Edition by R. Pintaudi, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 259–60, Taf. XIIa.
295 (description). Edition by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 54 (1984) 80–1.
311. On the writing see G. Cavallo, *Libri scritture scribi a Ercolano* 55.
312 (description). Edition by M. W. Haslam, F. Montanari, *BASP* 20 (1983) 113–22, with plate p. 115.
338 (description). Edition by L. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 41 (1981) 271–4, Taf. XVIIa; by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 279–81; cf. *ZPE* 63 (1986) 295–6.
363 (description). P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 283 n. 2.
P. Herm. Rees 5. G. Bastianini, *Anagennesis* 3 (1983) 161–5.
P. Hibeh I 4. P. Carrara, *Prometheus* 12 (1986) 25–32.
26. On the writing see G. Cavallo, *Libri scritture scribi a Ercolano* 50.
28. S. West, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 79–84.
II 179. On the writing see G. Cavallo, *Libri scritture scribi a Ercolano* 56. O. Musso, *Prometheus* 9 (1983) 49–56, ph. of fr. 7 on p. 52.
P. Oxy. Hels. 25. P. Frisch, *Zehn Agonistische Papyri* No. 4.
28.7. For *Βῃ* read perhaps *Β-*. LV **3789** introd., note (11)a to Table.
36. J. Herrmann, *Sodalitas: Scritti . . . A. Guarini* i 415–22.
P. Tebt. I 3. On the writing see G. Cavallo, *Libri scritture scribi a Ercolano* 51.
61(b). 40–4. J. A. S. Evans, *Misc. Pap. R. Roca-Puig* 123–7.

II 279 = C.P.Gr.I No. 1.
301 = C.P.Gr.II No. 64.
361.3,6. R. W. Daniel, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 59 (1985) 53.
370.1–3. P. van Minnen, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 91–2.
474 (description). Edition by R. Pintaudi, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 261–2, Taf. XXIc.
561. Reject the year number α = 1. LV **3806** 15 n., para. 5.
569. On the titulature of Marcus see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 63 (1986) 285–6.
577 (description). Edition by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Aegyptus* 65 (1985) 20.
641 (description). id. *CE* 61 (1986) 289–90.
642 (description). id. *ZPE* 64 (1986) 133.
643 (description). id. ibid. 131.
644 (description). id. *CE* 61 (1986) 290–1.
646 (description) = SB X 10541. Edition by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 64 (1986) 127–8.
647 (description) = SB X 10543.
648 (description) = SB X 10547.
649 (description). Edition by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 64 (1986) 135, Taf. IX.
650 (description) = SB X 10542.
651 (description). Edition by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 64 (1986) 136.
652 (description). Id. ibid.
653 (description). Ib. ibid. 137.
654 (description). Ib. ibid. 126–7, Taf. VIIIb.
655 (description) = SB X 10546.
656 (description) = SB X 10544.
657 (description) = SB X 10545.
658 (description) = SB X 10549.
659 (description). Edition by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 64 (1986) 134, Taf. IX.
660 (description). Id. ibid. 128, Taf. VIIIc.
661 (description) = SB X 10550.
662 (description) = SB X 10548.
663? (description). Edition by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 64 (1986) 131, Taf. IX.
663? (description). Id. ibid. 132.
665 (description). Id. *CE* 61 (1986) 291.
667 (description). Id. ibid. 289.
667 (description). Id. *ZPE* 64 (1986) 128–9.
668 (description). Id. *CE* 61 (1986) 288.
669 (description). Id. *ZPE* 64 (1986) 133.
670 (description). Id. ibid. 125–6.
671 (description). Id. ibid. 137.
672 (description). Id. ibid. 134.
673 (description). Id. ibid. 135, Taf. IX.
674 (description). Id. ibid. 132.
683 recto = Eur., *Hecuba* 216–31: F. Montanari, *Riv. fil.* 115 (1987) 24–32, 1 pl. opp. p. 24.
684 (description). Edition by F. Montanari, *Par. Pass.* 38 (1983: fasc. 208) 20–8.
692. On the writing see G. Cavallo, *Libri scritture scribi a Ercolano* 54.
697. Id. ibid. 56.

P. Turner 2. R. Führer, *ZPE* 54 (1984) 40.
7. G. Menci, *SCO* 32 (1982) 249–52.
34. J. A. Crook, *LCM* 8 (1983) 13–14.
47.2 n. For *σάγγαθον* also in P. Lond. IV see J. Gascou, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 258.

I. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

3777. Sworn Cession of Catoecic Land

38 3B.81/C(1–3)c | 14 × 28.5 cm | 2–31 August 57 BC

As its contribution to chronology this papyrus shows that by some date in the period 2–31 August 57 BC Berenice IV was reigning alone after the death of her colleague Cleopatra Tryphaena, see 1–3 n.

The text is a sworn undertaking by Straton son of Nicomachus to abide by the cession of five aruras of catoecic land from his allotment near Peenno to one Theon, whose patronymic is still unread. For the background to such transactions see XLIX **3482** introd. That document is also the best parallel, but there are differences which seem to indicate a different procedure or a different part of the same procedure. **3482** of 73 BC has a heading and date-clause of a similar type (1–3); there follows the cession-contract (3–27), which is not in **3777**, and then, after a blank space, the oath (28–39), which is very similar to the body of **3777**. Both documents have subscriptions, but they are of different types: **3482** 40 is badly damaged, but is clearly an official docket of some kind; **3777** 27–8, in a second hand, form the subscription of Straton himself declaring that he swore the preceding oath.

On the left-hand edge of **3777** near the foot there are small traces of the ends of lines, nowhere legible for certain. The last one, opposite the first line of the subscription, looks like]ϵ and looks as if it might be in the same darker ink and thicker pen as the subscription (27–8); it might be possible to recognize there *προγ*]ϵ|[*γραμμένον* as in 27–8. The other traces are somewhat higher, opposite lines 21–5, and fainter. I have not been able to recognize any letter for certain, but it is a possibility that duplicate copies of the sworn undertaking were written side by side and that the division of the sheet was done carelessly so as to trim some letters off the left-hand copy. However, I have not succeeded in making the traces match the extant copy. One alternative might be to suppose that there was a copy of the cession-contract on the left of the oath. In spite of the differences, which remain inexplicable for the moment, it is clear that the transactions of **3777** and **3482** were very similar.

There is a sheet-join *c.* 5 cm from the left edge. The back is blank.

βασιλευούσης Βερε]νίκης θεᾶς Ἐπιφανοῦς ἔτους
πρώτου, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῶν] κοινῶν ὡς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γράφεται,
μηνὸς Ὑπερβερεταίο]υ καὶ Μεσορή (vac.)
ἐν Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει] τῆς Θηβαΐδος. ὀμνύω βασίλισσαν
Βερενίκην θεὰν Ἐπι]φανῆ{ς} καὶ τοὺς ταύτης πρόγονους
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεού]ς πάντας Στράτων Νικομάχου
.]. . . . . [. . . τῶν πρ]ώτων φίλων καὶ χιλιάρχ[ω]ν μαχαιροφό[ρ]ων κᾳ̣ὶ τῶν κ[ατοίκων ἱ]ππέων Θέωνι . . . . ἰου
Π[έ]ρσῃι τῶν κατ[ο]ί[κων] ἱππέων καὶ διαδόχοι τοῦ
πατρικοῦ κλήρου, οἱ δύο ἀγυιᾶς Κλεοπάτρας Ἀφροδίτης,
ἐμμενεῖν ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν τῆς
ὁμολογίας ἣν τέθειμαί σοι διὰ τοῦ ἐν Ὀξυρύγχων πόλε[ι
ἀρ[χ]είου τῶν μνημόνων τῇι ἐνεστώσηι ἡμέραι,
κᾳ[θ' ἣν] παρ[α]κεχώ[ρ]ηκά σοι ἀπὸ τοῦ κλήρου μου
ἇς [ἔ]χω ἐκ τοῦ Φαιμ[ί]ππου κλήρ[ο]υ περὶ κώμην
Π[ε]εννὼ γῆς σι[τ]οφόρου σπορίμου ἐξ ὀρθογωνίου
ἀ[ρού]ρας πέντε, ὧν αἱ γειτνίαι διὰ τῆς ὁμολογίας
[δηλο]ῦνται, καὶ μὴ κακοτεχνή[σ]ειν Στράτωνα
[περ]ὶ τὴν παραχώρησιν τῆς γῆς μηδὲ περὶ ἄλλο
μ[ηδ]ὲν τῶν διὰ τῆ[ς ὁ]μολογίας ἀναπεφωνημένων
μη[δὲ περὶ τὸν ὅρκο]ν τοῦτον παρευρέσει μηδεμιᾶ.
ἐὰν . [c. 12 letters]. τρονε̣. ω, ἡνίκα δ' ἂν εὐ-
θυν[θῶ c. 8 letters]. ν παρὰ σοῦ χωρὶς τοῦ μένειν σοι
τὴν παραχώρη[σ]ι[ν] τῆς γῆς κυρίαν, καθάπερ καὶ ἔστιν,
συγχωρῶ καὶ τ[ὸ]ν κλῆρόν μου ἀναληφθῆναι εἰς τὸ
βασιλικὸν κᾳμὲ ἔνοχον εἶναι τῶν ὅρκωι.
(vac.)
(m. 2) Στράτων ὀμώμοκα τὸν προγεγραμμένον ὅρκον.

'In the first year of the reign of Berenice, Goddess Manifest, and the rest of the customary formulas as written in Alexandria, month of Hyperberetaeus and Mesore (vac.), in the city of the Oxyrhynchi of the Thebaid.'

'I, Straton son of Nicomachus, . . ., one of the queen's first friends and chiliarchs of swordbearers, one of the settler cavalrymen, swear by queen Berenice, Goddess Manifest, and by her ancestors, and by all the other gods, to Theon son of . . ., Persian, one of the settler cavalrymen and successor to his father's allotment, both of the street of Cleopatra Aphrodite, that I will abide in all respects by the provisions of the contract of agreement which I have made with you through the record-office of the remembrancers in

the city of the Oxyrhynchi on the present day, according to which I have ceded to you from my allotment the five aruras by rectangular measurement of wheat-bearing sowable land which I hold from the allotment of Phaenippus near the village of Peenno, the boundaries of which are specified in the agreement, and that I, Straton, will practise no fraud in respect of the cession of the land or in respect of any other of the matters proclaimed in the agreement or in respect of this oath on any pretext. Otherwise(?) . . ., and whenever I am brought to account (by you or your representatives?), apart from the fact that the cession of the land shall remain valid for you, as indeed it is, I concede too that my allotment shall be forfeit to the royal treasury and that I shall be liable to (the penalty of) the oath.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Straton, have sworn the above-written oath.'

1–3 The chronology of this period has been best treated by T. C. Skeat, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies*, 37–40. Ptolemy Auletes left Egypt to seek help from Rome sometime in 58 BC. His daughter Berenice IV and another queen, Cleopatra Tryphaena, reigned together for a while, but the only allusion to them in the papyri is BGU VIII 1762.4–5, a mere undated reference to two queens. Tryphaena died and Berenice reigned alone for a time. It is to this stage that our papyrus belongs and the date of it must be Mesore of her first year, that is, in the period 2–31 August, 57 BC. BGU VIII 1757 and 1821, which have no titulature, are assigned by Skeat (pp. 38–9) to the period of Berenice's rule for good reasons relating to the succession of strategi in the Heracleopolite nome. The first, dated year 1, Gorpiaeus 9 = Epeiph 9 = 11 July, 57 BC, may, since there is no titulature, date from her joint rule with Tryphaena. The second, referring to year 2, Choeac 27 = 31 December, 57 BC, dates from after **3777** and therefore must come from her sole rule. W. *Chr.* 70 and SB III 6156, comprising three inscriptions with the same text, contain a petition addressed to Berenice alone dated year 2, Phaophi 17 = 13 October, 57 BC, and an order to carry out Berenice's wishes in the matter dated year 2, Phamenoth 3 = 7 March, 56 BC, on which date she was evidently still ruling alone. Subsequently she married and ruled with one Archelaus, whose name does not appear in the papyri. However, three documents which are dated by 'year 2 which is also year 1' are assigned plausibly to this joint reign, namely P. Grenf. II 38, O. Tait I Petrie 52 (p. 84), and P. Tebt. I 202. These would then date from 16 April, 27 June, and 25 August respectively, all of 56 BC. Probably, therefore, the marriage to Archelaus will have taken place between 7 March and 16 April, 56 BC.[1] A demotic document, O. Berl. 6179 (G. Mattha, *Demotic Documents* (Publications de la Société Fouad I de Papyrologie: Textes et Documents VI), p. 193 No. 268A), dated year 2 and 1, Epeiph 11 = 13 July, 56 BC, fits into this series and shows Archelaus ruling with Berenice on this date. The restoration of Auletes took place in spring 55 BC, so that in Mesore of Berenice's second year she was still associated with Archelaus, see P. Tebt. I 202, and by what would have been Mesore of her third year she was already deposed and dead.

Mention should also be made of the other demotic document dating from the reign of Berenice cited by P. W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques* (Pap. Lugd. Bat. XV), 80–1, namely P. Louvre 3452 (G. Legrain, *Livre des transformations*, Pl. XIV), containing a colophon which simply equates year 2 of an unnamed queen, evidently Berenice IV, with year 25 of an unnamed king, evidently Ptolemy Auletes, dating the composition of the manuscript to 57/6 BC. Dr Mark Smith, to whom I am grateful for advice on both demotic texts, informs me that it is not surprising that an Upper Egyptian scribe should take a comparatively detached view of the dynastic struggles in the north of the country. He gave Berenice the precedence, but included the regnal year of her father. He gave no sign of having heard of Archelaus and therefore may well have been writing before the date of Berenice's marriage, which, as we have seen, took place between 7 March and 16 April, 56 BC.

Unfortunately there is an erroneous figure in Skeat's table of regnal years on p. 17. In the last line of the entry relating to regnal year 24 of Auletes we should read 'before 9 Epeiph = 11 July 57' (not 58). The error is repeated in the first line of the entry for year 1 of Berenice just below, where read 'bef. 9 Epeiph = 11 July 57' (not 58). This date derives from BGU VIII 1757, see above and Skeat, p. 39.

[1] There is some doubt about the date of this document, in which the month-name begins *Φα-*. This is followed by remains with a horizontal mark of abbreviation above them and then by the day number *ιγ* = 13, see P. Grenf. II Pl. IV (opp. p. 23). Therefore, although the editor's version *Φαῤῥ*[*μο*]*φ̣*(*θι*) *ιγ* = 16 April is generally accepted and Phaophi 13 is quite excluded by W. *Chr.* 70 and SB III 6156, Phamenoth 13 = 17 March may still be a possibility. There are no others, so although the marriage might possibly have taken place between 7 and 17 March, we will still be quite safe in saying that it must have taken place by 16 April, 56 BC.

In view of the complications it may be best to conclude with a table of all the documents at present considered to refer to the reign of Berenice:

Document	*Date clause*	*Julian date*
BGU VIII 1757	Year 1, Gorpiaeus 9 = Epeiph 9 (Berenice alone or with Cleopatra Tryphaena)	11 July, 57 BC
3777	Year [1] Berenice alone, [Hyperberetaeus] = Mesore (no day)	2–31 August, 57 BC
W. *Chr.* 70.28 and SB III 6156.38	Year 2, Phaophi 17 (2 Berenice: addressed to her)	13 October, 57 BC
BGU VIII 1821	Year 2, Choeac 27 (2 Berenice; a retrospective date)	31 December, 57 BC
W. *Chr.* 70.6 and SB III 6156.7	Year 2, Phamenoth 3 (2 Berenice)	7 March, 56 BC
P. Grenf. II 38	Year 2 which is also 1 (2 Berenice, 1 Archelaus), Pharmuthi(?) 13	(possibly 17 March, but probably) 16 April, 56 BC
O. Tait I Petrie 52 (p. 84)	Year 2 which is also 1 (2 Berenice, 1 Archelaus), Payni 25	27 June, 56 BC
O. Berl. 6179 (G. Mattha, *Demotic Documents*, 268A)	Year 2 which is also 1 (2 Berenice, 1 Archelaus) Epeiph 11	13 July, 56 BC
P. Tebt. I 202	Year 2 which is also 1 (2 Berenice, 1 Archelaus), Mesore 24	25 August, 56 BC

A. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, 155–6, has drawn attention to hieroglyphic inscriptions on the temple of Edfu dated by year 25 of Auletes and to two Greek inscriptions from Philae dated to a year 25 and sometimes assigned to the reign of Auletes. He adds, 'It may be that the reign of the children of Auletes was never known or recognized there'. The Louvre demotic papyrus shows that it was known and recognized in the south of the country to some extent. W. Dittenberger, *OGIS* i p. 271, followed by W. Peremans and E. Van't Dack, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* i 6 (no. 35 Castor *πρὸς τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ*), allows the possibility that the 25th year of the inscriptions from Philae (*OGIS* i 188–9) may be of the reign of Ptolemy X Alexander and the date therefore 5 (or 9) July, 89 BC. The earlier date is also favoured in the more recent literature, see E. Bernand, *Inscriptions Grecques d'Egypte et de Nubie* (Répertoire bibliographique des *OGIS*, 1982) 36 no. 188.

Two of the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Edfu are relevant, firstly one which records a dedication of doors on 1 Choeac of a 25th year, where the king's cartouche is left blank (E. Chassinat, *Temple d'Edfou* v 304–5), secondly one which records the same event, it appears, in Choeac of an unspecified year and mentions also Ptolemy Auletes and Cleopatra Tryphaena, see ibid. viii 58 continued in viii 30. On these inscriptions see most lately S. Cauville and D. Devauchelle, *Rev. d'Eg.* 35 (1984) 53–4, cf. J. Dümichen, *ZÄS* 8 (1870) 11–13 (no. xvi), id., *Altägypt. Tempelinschriften* i Taff. cxi, cxii. Combining the information we seem to have a date of 5 December, 57 BC given by regnal year 25 of Auletes and of his sister and wife Cleopatra Tryphaena, who figures regularly alongside Auletes for the ten years 79–69 BC and then disappears apart from this isolated allusion. A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides* ii 145–6 n. 1, has suggested that

the Cleopatra Tryphaena who ruled with Berenice IV according to the Syriac text of a fragment of Porphyry (fr. 2.(14), F. Jacoby, *FGH* IIB no. 260, p. 1202, cf. iiD 854 9) was in fact her mother, emerged from some long-standing obscurity, and not her sister as Porphyry says.

What precisely the Edfu inscriptions imply about the history of the period is not yet clear. For the moment we cannot account for them easily. The temptation to regard them as eccentric is increased by the presence on the temple of an inscription which seems to give a precise date of 5 July, 28 BC by regnal year 53 of Auletes, thus ignoring the reigns of Augustus, in whose term it falls, and of the intervening rulers of the country, see S. Cauville and D. Devauchelle, *Rev. d'Eg.* 35 (1984) 54–5.

Again I am grateful to Dr Mark Smith for his guidance among the Edfu inscriptions.

(Addendum: Professor Jan Quaegebeur has now given a new and somewhat different account of these Edfu inscriptions and their associated reliefs in a paper entitled 'Une scène historique méconnue au grand temple d'Edfou', delivered to an international colloquium 'Egitto e Storia Antica' (Bologna 31 agosto–2 settembre 1987). It will be printed in the proceedings of the colloquium. He thinks that most probably the decoration with the anonymous queen dates from about 69/8 BC, just about the time when Cleopatra Tryphaena disappears from the protocols. On that view these inscriptions have no relevance to the reign of Berenice IV. The 25th year refers perhaps to the reign of Ptolemy X Alexander (90/89 BC).

He and Dr Mark Smith have drawn my attention to H. J. Thissen, *ZPE* 27 (1977) 182–4, according to which a demotic graffito from Medinet Habu gives a date of 4 January, 55 BC by reference to year 26 of a Ptolemy and year 3 of a Cleopatra (not Berenice). For the moment I see no way of reconciling this with the other evidence.)

Finally it should be mentioned that an attempt has been made to assign P. Grenf. II 38 and P. Tebt. I 202 to a joint reign of Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XIV, see L. M. Ricketts, *BASP* 16 (1979) 213–17, esp. 215–16. This hypothesis rests on some very uncertain readings in P. Bon. 10, see G. Geraci, *La Genesi della Provincia Romana d'Egitto* 23–4.

3 The day number has not been entered.

7 An ethnic remains unread at the beginning of the line. Because of the damage at this point and the general irregularity of the hand I am unable to read any letter for certain, but a good guess could probably be verified and a bad one excluded. It is not *Μακεδών* for instance.

7–8 On the court titles see L. Mooren, *La Hiérarchie de cour*, 172–3, 214; id., *Aulic Titulature in Egypt*, 17, 173–4.

8 There are substantial remains of the patronymic. It is the irregularity of the hand as much as the damage which makes it difficult to recognize the letters.

9 *Π[ε]ρσῆ*. I believe that *Π[ρο]ψιφῖ* can be excluded. The ethnic 'Persian' is usually taken to be fictitious, although views differ about the detail, see the summary by J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski, *REG* 96 (1983) 260–2.

9–10 It is not clear whether the phrase 'successor to his father's allotment' means that he had succeeded or was to succeed to it. Such succession was normal, see the succinct account in N. Lewis, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt* 32–5.

10 *οἱ δύο*. This is common form, in spite of the grammatical oddity. Cf. XLIX **3482** 4 n. *ἀγνιᾶς Κλεοπάτρας Ἀφροδίτης*. Cf. **3482** 4 n.

13 *μνημόνων*. Cf. **3482** 32. This confirms the suggestion in the note there that *μνημόν]ων* is an alternative to the *ἀγορανόμ]ων* of the restored text. Cf. H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht d. gr. Papyri Ägyptens* ii 25–7.

22–3 The parallels **3482** and P. Fouad I 38 have different formulas, each beginning *ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ποιῶ κατὰ τὰ προγεγραμμένα*, which is already too long for this gap. Here the most likely line seems to be to restore *ἐὰν δ[ὲ μή*, elliptically, cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik* ii.3 pp. 7–8, followed immediately by the apodosis, *οὐδένα* (or *οὐδέν* or *οὐδεμίαν*) . . .], *τρον ἔξω*, 'Otherwise, I shall have no . . .'. The missing noun would mean something like 'immunity' or 'means of escape', but I have not thought of a suitable one. The gap in 23 could be easily filled by *ὑπὸ σοῦ ἢ τ]ῶν παρὰ σοῦ*, 'but when I am called to account by you or your representatives'.

3778–3779. Registrations of Sheep and Goats

The most thorough study of such returns can be found in S. Avogadro, 'Le *ΑΠΟΓΡΑΦΑΙ* di proprietà nell'Egitto greco-romano', *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 131–206.

Recently the subject has been discussed by D. Hagedorn, 'Zum Formular der Kleinviehdeklarationen', *ZPE* 21 (1976) 159–65. See also P. Phil. 8 introd. and S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt* 82–6. The latest list of registrations of sheep and goats appears in P. Heid. IV 302 introd., to which BGU XV 2489 (cf. 2490) can be added, as well as **3778–9**. Compare too **3782**, which has features unusual for the type. Of special relevance to these two is the study of the Oxyrhynchite examples from the reigns of Tiberius and Gaius by C. Balconi, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 35–60.

3778.

38 3B.81/B(12–13)a 7.5 × 37 cm 28 January 21

This is a collective return, closely parallel to P. Berl. Möller 7, where there are nine or more declarants, cf. Balconi, loc. cit. 43. The formula follows in the main the pattern of II **245.**

The text does not include any indication that the declarants were a formal corporation of *προβατοκτηνοτρόφοι*, cf. *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 164–5; 64 (1984) 43, P. Berl. Möller 7, commentary p. 61.

The back is blank.

(m. 1) Ταλαώ{ι}.

(m. 2) Ἱέρακι στρατηγῶι
παρὰ Δημητρίου καὶ Δώρου
ἀμφοτέρων Ἀπίωνος
καὶ Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ Ἡρα-
κλείου καὶ Πτολλίωνος
τοῦ Πτολλίωνος καὶ Πτολ-
λίωνος τοῦ Νεχτατύ-
μιος καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου
τοῦ Δημητρίου. ἀπογραφό-
μεθα εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς ζ (ἔτος)
Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἡμεῖν πρό-
βατα, τοῦ μὲν Δημητρίου
πρόβατα δεκατρία, τοῦ δὲ
Δώρου πρόβατα [δ]έκα, τοῦ
δὲ Ἀμμωνίου πρόβατα
δεκαέξ, αἶγα μίαν, τοῦ δὲ
Πτολλίωνος πρόβατα εἴ-
κοσι ἕν, αἶγα{ν} μίαν, τοῦ δὲ
Πτολλίωνος Νεχτατύμιος
πρόβατα δεκαδύο, αἶγα{ν}
μίαν, τοῦ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου
πρόβατα ἕξ, (γίνονται) (πρόβατα) οη, αἶγ(ες) γ,
καὶ τοὺς ἐπακολουθοῦν-
τας ἄρνας ἐρίφους ἐπι-
μεμειγμένα ἀλλήλοις,
ἃ νεμήσεται περὶ Ταλα-
ὼ{ι} τῆς κάτω{ι} τοπαρχίας
καὶ δι'ὅλου τοῦ νομοῦ δι-
ὰ νομέως Ἀπίωνος τοῦ
Λυκομήδου⟨ς⟩ λαογραφου-
μένου περὶ τὴν αὐτὴ(ν)
κώμην, ὧν καὶ τα-
ξόμεθα τὸ καθῆκον
τέλος. (vac.) ἐυτύχ(ει)
(vac.)

(m. 3) Ἀπολ( ) το(πάρχης) σεση(μείωμαι) (πρόβατα) ἑβδομήκοντα
ὀκτώ, αἶγ(ας) τρεῖς, (γίνονται) (πρόβατα) οη, αἶγ(ες) γ.
(ἔτους) ζ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβ(αστοῦ),
(vac.) Μεχ(εὶρ) γ.

4 *Ἀπίωνος*: *π* corr. from *β* 8 *Νεχτατύμιος*: *υ* corr. from *οι* 13 l. *ἡμῖν*
26–7 l. *ἐπιμεμιγμένα*

(1st hand) 'Talao.'

(2nd hand) 'To Hierax strategus from Demetrius and Dorus both sons of Apion, and Ammonius son of Heraclius, and Ptollion son of Ptollion, and Ptollion son of Nechtatymis, and Apollonius son of Demetrius.

We register for the present 7th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus the sheep which belong to us: thirteen sheep of Demetrius, ten sheep of Dorus, sixteen sheep and one goat of Ammonius, twenty-one sheep and one goat of Ptollion, twelve sheep and one goat of Ptollion son of Nechtatymis, six sheep of Apollonius, total 78 sheep, 3 goats, and the lambs and kids accompanying, (all) mixed together, which will graze in the neighbourhood of Talao in the Lower toparchy and throughout the entire nome, the shepherd being Apion son of Lycomedes, registered at (near?) the same village, and for which we will also pay the proper tax. Farewell.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Apollonius(?), toparch, have certified seventy-eight sheep and three goats, total 78 sheep, 3 goats. Year 7 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Mecheir 3.'

1 For this type of docket see Balconi, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 41 2. The place name is elsewhere followed by the totals of animals declared.

2 For Hierax see G. Bastianini, J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* (Pap. Flor. XV) 86, and **3779** 2. The new documents do not extend his known term of office. All the documents from which he is known are of this same type.

8–9 *Νεχτατύμιος*, cf. 21. Compare *Νεκταθῦμις* and *Νεχθαθῦμις* in P. Tebt. III 814.5, 12, 23, 32, 37, and perhaps in P. Tebt. III 770.5 (3rd cent. BC), *Νεχθατῦμις* in O. Bodl. II 1650.6; cf. 1249.6; 1253.6 (2nd cent AD).

24 For similar abbreviations (difficult to print) cf. *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 50 n. 13; 53 n. 7, with the plates.

25–6 For the meaning of *ἐπακολουθέω* see *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 171, CPJ III 482 (= II **353**). 9–10 n., and Pap. Lugd. Bat. XIX 8.1–2 n.

26 *ἄρνας ἐρίφους*. This asyndeton is common form, cf. XXXVIII **2850** 10; P. Berl. Möller 7.14; CPJ III 482 (= II **353**).10–11; P. IFAO I 5.9–10; Pap. Lugd. Bat. XIX 8.2–3.

26–7 *ἐπιμεμειγμένα ἀλλήλοις*. Animals of several owners are in the charge of one shepherd, see *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 40.

32 *Λυκομήδου⟨ς⟩*. For uncertainty in this declension see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 69–70.

33 In this context *λαογραφομένου* is followed by *εἰς* or *περί*, cf. **3779** 19 n. I doubt if a distinction is intended.

35–6 *τὸ καθῆκον τέλος*. For the tax on sheep see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt* 86–8; S. Avogadro, *Aegyptus* 14 (1934) 293–7; cf. below **3779** 8 n.

36 *εὐτύχ(ει)*. This word is a standard part of the formula, see *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 40. Here it is very rapidly written.

37 *Ἀπολ(λώνιος)*. In II **356** (AD 27), which is a similar return, we find the signature of a toparch called Apollonius, see *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 54 and Tav. III. The toparchy is the same. The hand is not obviously the same, but the interval is six years. In II **350** 16 (*Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 52 and Tav. II) the name of the toparch of the same area for AD 23 or 25 has been read as *Αντω̣. [. Ἀπολλω̣. [* is perhaps a possibility, although it would be very hastily written. The hand seems different again. No conclusion seems possible.

40 All declarations of this type and period fall in late Tybi or early Mecheir, see *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 47.

3779.

38 3B.82/C(3)a 7.5 × 24 cm 20/21

Again this is a collective return, see **3778** introduction, by two brothers and another man not obviously related to them.

The back is blank.

θ[
(vac.) [
(m. 2) *Ἰέρ*[*α*]*κι* (vac.) *στρα*[*τηγῷ*
παρὰ Πετοσίριος κ[*α*]*ὶ* . [7–10 letters?
ἀμφοτέρων Πε[*το*]*σορά*[*πιος καὶ*
5 *Πετσίριος τοῦ Ἰε*. . [7–10 letters?
ἀπὸ κώμης Τυχι[*ν*. . . . . *τῆς*
κάτω τοπαρχίας. ἀπ[*ογραφόμεθα*
εἰς τὸ ἐννόμιον τ[*οῦ ἐνεστῶτος*

ζ (ἔτους) Τιβερίου Καίσαρος [*Σεβαστοῦ*
10 *τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἑκάστῳ* [*πρόβατα, ὁ μὲν*
Πε[*σ*]*ίριος* ⟨*πρόβατα*⟩ *πεντή*[*κοντα* . . . . . ,
α[*ἶγ*]*ας τρεῖς, ὁ δ*[*ὲ* . . . . . *πρόβ*(*ατα*) *δεκα-*
δύο, αἶγα μίαν, ὁ δ[*ὲ Πετσῖρις*
πρόβατα ὀκτώ, ὧν [*τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ*
15 *αὐτὸ πρόβ*(*ατα*) *ο*. , [*αἶγες δ,*
καὶ τοὺς ἐπακολουθο[*ῦ*]*ν*[*τας ἄρνας*
ἐρίφους, ἃ νεμήσεται [*περὶ* . . . . .
(m. 3) . *καὶ δι'ὅλου τοῦ νομοῦ δ*[*ιὰ νομέως*
*Ἐργέως τοῦ Πα*υσίριος [*ἀπὸ τῆς*
20 *αὐτῆς κώμης λαογραφ*[*ουμένου,*
ὧν καὶ ταξόμεθα τὸ κ[*αθῆκον*
ἐννόμιον.

(vac.)

(m. 4) *Σαραπίωνι τοπ*[*άρ*]*χῃ*[*ι σεσημείωμαι*
πρόβ(*ατα*) *ἑβδομ*[*ήκοντα* . . . . . ,
25 *αἶγας τέσσαρα*[*ς, γίνονται*] *πρόβατα ο*. , *αἶγες δ.*
(*ἔτους*) *ζ Τιβερίου* [*Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ,*
. . . . .

'. . .'

(2nd hand) 'To Hierax strategus from Petosiris and . . ., both sons of Petosorapis, and Petsiris son of . . . from the village of Tychin . . . of the Lower toparchy. We register for the pasture tax of the present 7th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus the sheep belonging to each: Petosiris (registers) fifty(-five or -nine) sheep, three goats; . . . twelve sheep, one goat; Petsiris eight sheep, of which the total is 75 (or 79) sheep, 4 goats, and the lambs and kids accompanying, which will graze . . . (3rd hand) and throughout the entire nome, the shepherd being Hergeus son of Paysiris (from the?) same village, registered for poll-tax, and for which we will also pay the proper pasture tax.'

(4th hand) 'I, Sarapion toparch, have certified seventy(-five or -nine) sheep and four goats, total 75 (or 79) sheep, 4 goats. Year 7 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, . . .'

1 *θ*[: perhaps an item number, i.e. 9, cf. *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 40–1. Another possibility is that it is a village name, cf. **3778** 1, although it is not the expected one, which was named in 6. It could be surmised that the one in 6 was a small place within the sphere of influence of the larger village of Tholthis (Lower), cf. P. Pruneti, *Centri abitati*, 58–9, but the name of the toparch suggests rather a connection with the Western toparchy, see 23 n. There is as yet no known village in it with a name beginning with theta, see Pruneti, op. cit. 236, but nevertheless this seems most likely to be the name of a village of the Western toparchy.

2 For the strategus see **3778** 2 n.

6 *Τυχωφάγων* or *Τυχινψαλβώ*, both in the Lower toparchy, would fit equally well, although the former is much better attested, see P. Pruneti, *Centri abitati*, 211.

8 For *ἐννόμιον*, cf. 22, mentioned in returns of livestock cf. P. IFAO I 5.2 (8 7 BC); P. Amh. II 73.7 (AD 129/30). The editor of P. Berl. Möller 7, commentary p. 61, identifies it with *τὸ καθῆκον τέλος*; cf. P. Princ. II 24, commentary p. 14; Pap. Lugd. Bat. XIX 8, p. 68. The nature of it is discussed by S. Avogadro, *Aegyptus* 14 (1934) 293–7; S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt*, 79 n. 7 (p. 385) and 86 8; cf. also WO I pp. 191–2, A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 561, 569, and O. Leid. 41 introd.

10 *τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἑκάστῳ*. Cf. II **245** 8–9, and the remark of Avogadro, *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 165. Sigma appears to have been corrected. Perhaps the clerk began to write *ἑκατέρῳ* and then caught his mistake.

13 *Περσῖρις*. Cf. 5.

14 *ᾧν* does not conform to the usual formulas. The remains here will not suit any form of *γίνονται*. This reading, however, remains doubtful.

15 The total of sheep is either *οϛ* or *οθ*; in 11 restore *πεντήκ[οντα πέντε* or *π. ἐννέα*. The numbers of goats in 12, 13, and 25 seem to be satisfactory in spite of damage in two of these places.

17 At the end of the line space seems short for a mention of the village named in 6, [*περὶ Τυχνφάγων* or the like. Probably we need the name of a village of the Western toparchy, see 23 n., perhaps one beginning with theta, see 1 n.

18 In the margin at the level of 18 is a symbol or abbreviation of unknown meaning. The strokes are thicker than those in the main text and look as if they come from another hand. The reading *τ9(παρχ-)* is a possibility, in which case one might imagine that the name of the toparchy had been first omitted and then added, e.g. [*περὶ* . . . . . (village) *'τῆς ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ⌉*[18] *'τ9(παρχίας)' κτλ.*, cf. **3778** 28–9.

19 We would expect here either *λαογραφουμένου εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν κώμην*, cf. P. Berl. Möller 7.20; II **245**, **350**, or *λ. περὶ τὴν κτλ.*, cf. P. Princ. II 24.18; II **353**; XXXVIII **2850** 17, **3778** 33; SB XII 10795.16; P. IFAO III 43.19. It seems, however, that the genitive in 20 is certain, and the order of words shows that a different formulation was used here.

22 Since the *ἐννόμιον* is likely to be identical with the *καθῆκον τέλος*, cf. 8 n., we would expect that the return was written in Tybi or Mecheir. Already the Revenue Law of Ptolemy Philadelphus (P. Rev. frag. 6c) mentions *ἐννόμιον* in Mecheir, cf. *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 185 n. 2. On the other hand Avogadro, *Aegyptus* 14 (1934) 295, points out that in the Ptolemaic period special registration for the *ἐννόμιον* was prescribed by the dioecetes in the month of Mesore, cf. P. Tebt. III (1) 703.165 (III/II cent. BC). The editor of P. Berl. Möller 7, commentary pp. 61–2, concludes, 'Die Entrichtung des *τέλος* erfolgt wohl also erst nach dem Ende der Weidezeit (vgl. auch das Fut. *ταξόμεθα*). . . . lässt sich aber kein Schluss über die Dauer der Weide im oxyrhynchitischen Gau gewinnen', cf. M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 342 ff.

23 A toparch called Sarapion is known to us from other documents, cf. P. Princ. II 24; II **245**; SB XII 10795 (= P. Yale Inv. 42, *BASP* 8 (1971) 52); XXXVIII **2850**. In P. Princ. II 24.23 he functions in this capacity in the seventh year of Tiberius. He seems, however, to be connected with the Western toparchy, which is mentioned in all these documents. Balconi, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 38, doubts that there was only one toparch called Sarapion, attributing P. Princ. 24 to the Lower and **2850** to the Upper toparchy. However, in both cases the grazing was to take place in the Western toparchy, which was the important point. The other toparchies are mentioned only as the tax districts of the shepherds concerned. Here there is a strong implication that we need to restore the name of a village of the Western toparchy in line 17, see n., possibly one beginning with theta, see 1 n.

3780. Calendar of Gaius

38 3B.85/L(1–2)a 9×8.5 cm AD 40–2

This orderly list of the honorific names which were substituted for Egyptian month names during the reign of Gaius cuts through the doubt which remained about some of the equivalences, see the list in A. E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft i. 7), 177 n. 1, based on the detailed study of K. Scott, *YClS* 2 (1931) 245–63, and confirms recent deductions by C. Balconi and A. E. Hanson, see below.

The papyrus, which is blank on the back, appears to be broken on all sides. At the foot two month names are manifestly missing, but the first line, above which there is barely half a centimetre of broken papyrus, contains the first month of the Egyptian year. To left and right there are fairly wide blank margins, 3 cm and 1.5–3 cm respectively, with broken edges. It may be that we have lost at one side or other a corresponding column containing the Egyptian names, cf. SB VI 9529, but if so there are no remains.

Only two of the names here existed before the reign of Gaius, *Σεβαστός* = *Θώθ* in honour of Augustus, and *Νέος Σεβαστός* = *Ἁθύρ* in honour of Tiberius, which each appeared in the reign of the emperor concerned. The others were not created at the same time: *Σωτήρ* = *Φαῶφι* was in use by 20 October, AD 38 (BGU IV 1078, illustrated in W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, 15b); *Γαΐειος* (if that is the correct spelling) = *Φαμενώθ* appears in two tax registers from Philadelphia for regnal year 2 = AD 37/8, although these were probably compiled just after the end of that year, see A. E. Hanson, *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology*, 347 n. 10, cf. ead., *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Napoli 1983) iii 1110–13. A like register (P. Mich. Inv. 876 recto) for year 4 = AD 39/40, probably compiled shortly after 28 August, AD 40, certainly with dates as late as Mesore 13 = 6 August, that is, twenty-two days before the end of the year and only about six months before the murder of Gaius on 24 January, AD 41, adds only three more: *Δρουσίλλειος* = Payni, *Δρουσιεύς* = Epeiph, and *Καισάρειος* = Mesore. The extract from this register which was presented by Dr Hanson at the Naples Congress of Papyrology has the names of the last ten months of the year, that is, all except Thoth and Phaophi, which would have been called *Σεβαστός* and *Σωτήρ* if it had been necessary to refer to them. Hathyr is called *Νέος Σεβαστός*, as in the reign of Tiberius, while Choeac, Tybi, Mecheir, Pharmuthi, and Pachon retain their Egyptian names. It seems, therefore, that these five months received their new names in the last five or six months of the reign, not necessarily all at the same time. The earliest known date for each month is given in the commentary below. Possibly the new evidence for the stages in the renaming of the months may help to chart the course of the policy, or mania, of Gaius, but consideration of that and of the allusions to be recognized in some of the ambiguous honorific names must be left to the experts in the period.

Most of the names conferred by Gaius lasted only a short time into the reign of Claudius, although Germaniceus and Caesareus did not suffer permanently from the taint and eventually survived into the third century. This list as a whole, however, can only have been of immediate relevance for a period of about two years, from sometime in the last few months of AD 40 till near the end of AD 42. The first century script entirely suits the supposition that it was written then, probably as a memorandum in some office.

. . .
Ϛεβαστός
Ϲωτήρ
Νέος Ϲεβαστός
Ἰουλιεύς
Θεογένιος
Νερώνιος
Γαΐ`η ʹος
Ἀγριππῖνος
Γερμανίκιος
Δρουσίλληος
. . .

5 l. *Θεογένειος* 6 l. *Νερώνειος* 7 l. *Γαΐειος* 8 l. *Ἀγριππίνειος* 9. l. *Γερμανίκειος* 10 l. *Δρουσίλλειος*

1 *Ϲεβαστός* = Thoth: K. Scott, *YClS* 2 (1931) 241–3; cf. O. Tait II 969.5 n., P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 40 (1980) 130, C. Balconi, *ZPE* 42 (1981) 131–2.

2 *Ϲωτήρ* = Phaophi: K. Scott, *YClS* 2 (1931) 247–9, 258; cf. O. Tait I Petrie 261.8 n. (p. 118), C. Balconi, *ZPE* 59 (1985) 87–8. This is one of the earliest changes by Gaius, see BGU IV 1078 (= W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses* 15b) of 3 Gaius, Soter 23 = 20 October, AD 38. In year 2 of Gaius the name was still Phaophi, see P. Ryl. II 160b. 11, WO II 378.34. Cf. 7 n. The allusion in the name is not yet satisfactorily explained.

3 *Νεός Ϲεβαστός* = Hathyr: K. Scott, *YClS* 2 (1931) 243–4; cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 40 (1980) 131.

4 *Ἰουλιεύς* = Choeac: K. Scott, *YClS* 2 (1931) 249. The other references are CPR I 242. 16, see BL I p. 123 (7–16 October, AD 40—5 Gaius), P. Mich. V 321.1 (1 December, AD 42—3 Claudius). In P. Mich. Inv. 876 recto, probably compiled shortly after 28 August, AD 40, see above introduction, Choeac retains its Egyptian name. It seems, therefore, that it was renamed within the short period 28 August–16 October, AD 40, and in advance of the recurrence of the month on 27 November.

Is the allusion to Julius Caesar or to Julia daughter of Augustus as maternal ancestress of Gaius, or is it more general? Although Gaius did not himself have *Iulius* in his titulature, all his sisters and his daughter had *Iulia* as one of their names.

5 *Θεογένιος* (l. *Θεογένειος*) = Tybi: K. Scott, *YClS* 2 (1931) 255. This name occurs otherwise only in BGU III 713.3, in the spelling *Θεογεναίου* (not checked). That document can now be dated to 1 January, AD 42 (2 Claudius, Theogeneius = Tybi, 6). The equivalence has been deduced by C. Balconi, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 58–60, with acknowledgements also to Ann Hanson, see *Atti . . . XVII . . . Congresso* iii 1112 n. 15, cf. n. 16.

The allusion is ambiguous: to Augustus as *diui filius*, or to Gaius himself as a god, cf. Suet., *Caligula* 22?

6 *Νερώνιος* (l. *Νερώνειος*) = Mecheir: K. Scott, *YClS* 2 (1931) 255–8. The equivalence has been deduced by Balconi and Hanson, see above 5 n. Since Mecheir retains its Egyptian name in P. Mich. Inv. 876 recto, we can conclude that it was renamed after 28 August, AD 40, see introd., cf. 4 n., and before 24 January, AD 41, when Gaius was murdered.

The allusion is most likely to be to Nero brother of Gaius, eliminated under Tiberius, see Scott, op. cit., 257.

7 *Γαΐ`η ʹος* (l. *Γαΐειος*) = Phamenoth: K. Scott, *YClS* 2 (1931) 255, cf. A. E. Hanson, *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology* (New York 1980), 347 n. 10, ead., *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale de Papirologia* (Napoli 1983) iii 1110–13. *Γαΐειος* was conjectured to be Phamenoth by Tait, who pointed out that the *dies imperii* of the reign, 16 March (AD 37), falls in this month, see O. Tait II 469 n. Gaius was born on 31 August (AD 12), in the Egyptian month of Thoth, already irrevocably renamed *Ϲεβαστός* in honour of Augustus.

In passing we should note *μη(νὸς) Γαΐου Ϲεβαστοῦ* in O. Tait II 469.4, 470.5, 472.4, corroborated by the demotic O. Mattha 65. (I am grateful to Dr Mark Smith for confirming that the ostracon really does have 'month of Gaius who/which is august'.) There is a suspicious resemblance to *Νέος Ϲεβαστός*, but the demotic shows that this variant really existed. The readings of O. Tait II 469 and 470 are correct; 472 is too faded to check.

This month was one of the earliest to be renamed by Gaius. It appears in tax registers for regnal year 2, probably compiled after the last day of it, 28 August, AD 38, see introd. above, although two ostraca actually of year 2 are still dated by the Egyptian month, O. Strassb. 66.4 (Phamenoth 23 = 19 March, AD 38) and O. Deissmann 85 (P. Meyer, p. 204: Phamenoth 25 = 21 March, AD 38). Both these ostraca are from Thebes and it could be that in year 2 Phamenoth had already been renamed but the news had not reached Thebes. It is equally possible and perhaps more likely that the renaming was later, at the end of year 2 or the beginning of year 3. *Γαΐειος* could, therefore, have been introduced about the same time as *Ϲωτήρ* = Phaophi, cf. 2 n. The registers might be slightly earlier than the first appearance of Soter, but no priority or simultaneity can be demonstrated.

The proper spelling is uncertain: *Γαΐῆου* appears in O. Tait II 474.5, O. Strassb. 68.5, and SB X 10430 (= O. Leid. 54).5; P. Mich. Inv. 904+P. Lond. Inv. 2248 recto and P. Mich. Inv. 876 recto have *Γαΐου*, which resembles the first version of **3780**, and see above on *Γαΐου Ϲεβαστοῦ*. Analogy recommends *Γαΐειος*. Iotacism would explain *Γαΐῆος* and the contraction of adjacent /i/ vowels would explain *Γάϊος* (accent *Γαΐος*?), see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i, 295–8.

8 *Ἀγριππῖνος* (l. *Ἀγριππίνειος*) = Pharmuthi: K. Scott, *YClS* 2 (1931) 278, see now P. Mich. II p. 23, *καθ'ἕτος* (l. *κατ'*) *ἐν μηνὶ Ἀγριππηνήου* (l. *-πινείῳ*), written in 2 Claudius (AD 41/2). The name has appeared also in O. Tait II 1146.5, see n. That text can now be dated, provided that the dotted letters are correctly read, to 23 April, AD 41 (1 Claudius, *μη(νὸς) Ἀγριπ(πινείου) κ̄γ̄η̄*). The form here is anomalous. Perhaps the clerk meant to write *Ἀγριππίνιος*, as his *-ιος* elsewhere represents *-ειος* (5, 6, 9).

The allusion is probably to the mother of Gaius, as *Γερμανίκειος* fairly clearly is to his father, but could also be to his sister the mother of Nero.

9 *Γερμανίκιος* (l. *Γερμανίκειος*) = Pachon: K. Scott, *YClS* 2 (1931) 249–51, C. Balconi, *ZPE* 59 (1985) 84–7. The allusion to Germanicus, father of Gaius, but a popular figure, allowed this name to survive into the third century, although it is probably not irrelevant that Gaius had Germanicus in his titulature. This name did not appear till after 28 August, AD 40, that is, till the fifth regnal year, see introd. It cannot, therefore, be thought of as the missing month name in O. Tait II 1051.5–7, where ed. pr. converted *(ἔτους) β Γαΐου Καίσαρος Ϲεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ ϵ̄* into 30 April, AD 37. This is clearly wrong, since it would fall into the first regnal year, but looks as if it takes *Γερμανικοῦ* as a month name equivalent to *Γερμανίκειος* = Pachon, since Pachon 5 is indeed 30 April. BL V 161 suggests supplying *⟨Γερμανικείου⟩*, but this will not do for years 1–4, see P. Mich. V 318 introd., P. Ryl. II 148.12–15, 33–4, O. Tait I Petrie 256.5 (p. 117), WO II 383.4–5, O. Tait II 661.3–5, all from Pachon of 4 Gaius. The fact is that the month name has been accidentally omitted from O. Tait II 1051 and cannot be supplied on our present evidence.

10 *Δρουσίλληος* (l. *Δρουσίλλειος*) = Payni: K. Scott, *YClS* 2 (1931) 251–2, see now P. Mich. V 321.19 *ἀεὶ ἐν μηνὶ Δρουσιλλέῳ*, written on 1 December, AD 42 (3 Claudius). BGU VII 1660.12 has *[Δ]ρουσιλλήου λ̄*, written in 1 Claudius, therefore on 24 June, AD 41. Analogy again recommends *Δρουσίλλειος* as the academically correct form.

Again the allusion is not unambiguous: to his dead and consecrated sister, or to his only child?

This month forms a group with the two succeeding ones, which have been lost from this list, *Δρουσιεύς* = Epeiph, and *Καισάρειος* = Mesore, in the sense that these three can be seen from the Philadelphia tax registers to have received their new names after *Ϲωτήρ* and *Γαΐειος* and before the five remaining months, see introd. The tax registers relate to year 4, AD 39/40, but were probably compiled not long after the end of that year, that is, after 28 August, AD 40.

It is possible that all three of these new names were in use in year 4, but the evidence is good only for *Δρουσιεύς* = Epeiph. To take them in order: there is no evidence for *Δρουσίλλειος* = Payni in 4 Gaius and in fact O. Tait II 473 is dated *Παῦνι Ϲεβαστῇι* (cf. W. F. Snyder, *Aegyptus* 44 (1964) 155). However,

this ostracon is from Thebes and it may be that the news of the change was slow to penetrate so far south. Epeiph had certainly been renamed already: P. Lond. III 893 (descr. p. xliii), edited in full in P. Ryl. II p. 381, is dated in year 4 (evidently of Gaius), *μη(νὸς) Δρουσιέ(ως) κη*, i.e. 22 July, AD 40. WO II 384 was published with the month name unread, *μη(νὸς) . . ου. . . Σεβαστῆι* (cf. Snyder, ibid.), but it was subsequently read by Viereck as *Δρουσέως* (= *Δρουσιέως*), see BL II. i p. 58. For *Καισάρειος* = Mesore I have found no evidence but P. Princ. II 65, which is supposed to be dated *(ἔτους) δ . . . Μεσ[ο]ρ[ὴ]* $\overline{κγ}$. The readings are manifestly too doubtful to prove that *Καισάρειος* was not in use in year 4.

3781. Announcement of the Accession of Hadrian

96/18(c) 6.5 × 16 cm 25 August 117

By this circular letter Rammius Martialis, prefect of Egypt, officially informed a number of district governors of the accession of Hadrian and instructed them to declare festivities in their areas. The greatest interest lies in the date. Hadrian's *dies imperii* was 11 August, AD 117 (HA Hadr. 4.7; ILS I 318; CIL VI 33885.17) and he was proclaimed in Antioch (HA Hadr. 5.9–10; Dio–Xiph. 69.2.1). The short interval of fourteen days well illustrates and confirms the fact that he assumed power without consulting the senate, see HA Hadr. 6.2 *cum ad senatum scriberet, ueniam petit, quod de imperio suo iudicium senatui non dedisset, salutatus scilicet praepropere a militibus imperator, quod esse res publica sine imperatore non posset.* Cf. Dio–Xiph. 69.2.2 *ἔγραψε δὲ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ὁ Ἁδριανὸς ἀξιῶν βεβαιωθῆναι αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ παρ'ἐκείνης.* Rammius Martialis followed Hadrian's orders without waiting for confirmation from Rome. It is interesting to contrast what seems to have happened in Egypt at the accession of Macrinus, also in Syria. The then prefect, Valerius Datus, hesitated to proclaim Macrinus without confirmation from Rome and was eventually hounded down and eliminated by him, cf. XLIII **3092** 5 n. The proclamations of Vespasian and Avidius Cassius were also supported by prefects of Egypt without authority from Rome.

Another remnant of the celebrations for the accession of Hadrian is the famous P. Giss. 3 (= W. *Chr.* 491 = E. Heitsch, *Die gr. Dichterfragm. d. röm Kaiserzeit* (1961) no. xii), which is a fragment of a dramatic performance beginning with a speech of Phoebus, who has taken Trajan to heaven in a chariot drawn by white horses and announces the new ruler Hadrian. That celebration seems to have been funded by the local governor: *ὧν πάντων χορηγὸν τὸ . . . τοῦ στρατηγοῦ . . . φιλότιμον . . .* (11–13). The date of it will not have been many days later than this, allowing time for news to reach probably Apollonopolis Heptacomia (Kom Isfaht) in the Thebaid.

It is debatable whether the omission of Hadrian's *dies imperii* from the Feriale Duranum should be connected with his unorthodox accession, cf. J. F. Gilliam, *Harvard Theol. Review* 47 (1954) 196 (= *Roman Military Papers* 136).

Other similar papyrus documents relating to accessions are:

VII **1021** (= W. *Chr.* 113), 17 November, AD 54, a draft proclamation for the accession of Nero.

SB XII 10991, s.d., a prefect's edict for the accession of Avidius Cassius (AD 175).

BGU II 646 (= W. *Chr.* 490), 6 March, AD 193, a prefect's letter to the strategi of Middle Egypt, subjoining a copy of his edict to Alexandria about the accession of Pertinax.

SB I 421, s.d., an official letter giving the order for a procession of images of goddesses for the proclamation of Maximus Caesar (AD 226).

LI **3607**, s.d., a covering letter of a strategus for a prefect's edict for the accession of Gordians I and II (AD 238)?

SB VI 9528 (Vespasian) and X 10295 (Avidius Cassius?) are possibly to be regarded as imperial letters replying to congratulations on their accessions, cf. IGR IV 349 (Hadrian, 11 November, AD 117).

The date here is now the earliest one for the prefecture of Martialis, see 2 n. The early titulature of Hadrian is rare and interesting, see 7–10 n., and the appended list of nomes is useful evidence for the extent of the Heptanomia in AD 117, see 20–3 n.

The script is small and rapid and there are many abbreviations. The document has the air of an office memorandum. The writing runs along the fibres. There is no sheet join. The foot is lost but otherwise damage is fairly slight. The back is blank.

⟦α. . . . . ⟧
(vac.) '. . . [.]. . [. . .]. ( )'
'Ράμμ(ιος) Μαρτ(ιάλις) στρ(ατηγοῖς) ⟦. ⟧ νομ(ῶν) χαίρε(ιν).
ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ σύνπαντ(ος)
ἀνθρώπων γένους ἴστε
τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρὰ τοῦ
θεοῦ πατρὸς διαδεδέχθ(αι)
Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα
Τραϊανὸν Ἁδριανὸν Ἄριστ(ον)
Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν Δακι-
κὸν Παρθικόν. εὐχόμ[ενοι
οὖν πᾶσι θεοῖς αἰώνιον
αὐτοῦ τὴν διαμονὴν
ἡμεῖν φυλαχθῆναι
στεφανηφορήσομ(εν)
ἐφ'ἡμ(έρας) τ̄, ὅπερ καὶ τοῖς
ὑφ'ἑαυτοὺς νομ[οῖ]ς

2 ραμ$^{\mu}$μαρ$^{\tau}$στρ$^{\beta}$, νο$^{\mu}$χαιρ$^{\epsilon}$ 3 συνπαν$^{\tau}$; l. σύμπαντος 6 διαδεδεχ$^{\theta}$ 8 αριστ$^{\tau}$
12 διαμονήν: ι corr. (from δει-?) 13 l. ἡμῖν 14 στεφανηφορησ$^{\mu}$ο 15 εφ$^{\mu}$η

φανερὸν πρ̣οήςητε.
(ἔτους) α// Μεςορὴ
ἐπαγο(μένων) β̄. (vac.)
Λητο(πολίτου), Μεμφε̣ί[τ(ου), Ἀρςι(νοΐτου),
Ἀφροδ(ιτοπολίτου), Ἡρακλ(εοπολίτου), Ὀξυρυγ̣(χίτου),
Ὀάςεω(ς) ζ̄ νομ(ῶν), Κυνο(πολίτου),
Ἑρμ]ο(πολίτου)[

. . . . . .

18 ⌞α// 19 επαγο̄ β̄ 20 λητο)μεμφε̣ι[ᵀ?αρcᶦ? ; l. Μεμφίτου 21 αφροᵈηρακˡοξυρυγ̣
22 οαcεʷζνοᵘᵏκυνο) 23 ερμ]ο)

'Rammius Martialis (to the strategi of the underwritten districts?), greetings.'

'Be it known to you that for the salvation of the whole race of mankind the imperial rule has been taken over from the god his father by Imperator Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Optimus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus Parthicus. Therefore we shall pray to all the gods that his continuance may be preserved to us for ever and shall wear garlands for ten days. This you are to publish to the districts under your charge.'

'Year 1, Mesore, 2nd intercalary day.'

'Letopolite, Memphite, Arsinoite, Aphroditopolite, Heracleopolite, Oxyrhynchite, Oasis of the Heptanomia, Cynopolite, Hermopolite.'

1 The first letter could well be alpha, which may suggest some version of the word *ἀντίγραφον*, 'copy', a frequent heading in papyri. The alpha has been smeared and the following remains are very faint, giving the impression that either the whole of the line or at least the beginning of it has been imperfectly washed out. At the end a high horizontal looks like a mark of abbreviation. The remains in the third place after the alpha might be of the double curve which frequently marks abbreviation.

2 For documentary references to Rammius Martialis as prefect see G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 283; cf. 38 (1980) 81. The date below (18–19), equivalent to 25 August, AD 117, is now the earliest fixed date in his prefecture, although it was known that he was in office before 29 August (VII **1023** 6). The latest fixed date in his predecessor's term remains 5 January, AD 117, see *ZPE* 17 (1975) 282. However, I am tempted to speculate that M. Rutilius Lupus was actually in office when news of Hadrian's accession arrived, to be followed almost immediately by the appointment of Martialis. The shaky ground for this idea is a passage in a much damaged and puzzling section of the Acta Alexandrinorum, see H. Musurillo, *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs* no. ix pp. 49–50. Alexandrian and Jewish ambassadors dispute before Hadrian about violence in Alexandria at least in part in the governorship of Lupus. The embassy seems to fall in the governorship of Martialis, who is very probably addressed in a letter, p. 54 l. 178: *Ῥάμ]μιε, θηcον*|[; cf. BGU I 140 (a letter of Hadrian).10 *Ῥάμμιέ μου.*

Below in parallel are Musurillo's text on the left and on the right my restored version from a photograph kindly supplied by M. de Cenival of the Louvre.

	[*Πα*]ῦλος περὶ τοῦ βαcιλέως ἐν[. . .]	[*Πα*]ῦλος περὶ τοῦ βαcιλέως ἐν[εδείξα-] (v.)
	[.]ο ὡς προήγαγον καὶ ἔτοcᾳ[. . .]	το ὡς προήγαγον καὶ ἔτος ᾱ [ἐκεῖ-] (v.)
	[.]ο ἀνηγ[όρ]ευcε, καὶ Θέω[ν	ν]ο ἀνηγ[όρ]ευcε, καὶ Θέω[ν τὸ] (v.)
	περὶ τούτ[ο]υ διάτα ⟨γμα⟩ ἀνέγνω [τοῦ?]	περὶ τούτ[ο]υ διάτα ⟨γμα⟩ ἀνέγνω [τοῦ] (v.)
5 (20)	Λούπου, ὡc προάγειν αὐ[τ]οὺc	Λούπου, ὡc προάγειν αὐ[τ]οὺc
	[ἐ]κέλευε χλευάζων τὸν ἀπὸ	ἐ]κέλευε, χλευάζων τὸν ἀπὸ
	[c]κηνῆc καὶ ἐκ μίμου βαcιλέα.	c]κηνῆc καὶ ἐκ μείμου βαcιλέα.
	[o]ὕτωc ἡμῶν, καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ	o]ὕτωc ἡμῶν, καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ
	[ἐ]cχε{ν}δίαcεν εἰπὼν πρὸc	ἐ]cχε{ν}δίαcεν εἰπὼν πρὸc

10 (25)	[*Π*]αῦλον καὶ τοὺc ἡμετέρουc	*Π*]αῦλον καὶ τοὺc ἡμετέρουc,
	[τ]αῦτα· ἐν ταῖc τ[ο]ιαύταιc πρᾳ-	⟨τ⟩]αῦτα ἐν ταῖc τ[ο]ιαύταιc πρᾳ-
	[ρα]τάξεc[ι] γίνεται ἐμοὶ . η	ρα]τάξεc[ι] γείνεται. ἐμοῦ δὴ
	[. .] ἐν τῷι Δακικῷι πολέμ[ω]ι [	καὶ] ἐν τῷι Δακικῷι πολέμ[ω]ι
	[. .]ατοc[. .]θυλει τιc τῶν πε[. . .]	δ]ντοc, [ἐ]θ⟨ρ⟩ύλει(?) τιc τῶν κτλ.

'Paul explained about the "emperor", how they led him in procession and he proclaimed that the first year (sc. of Hadrian), and Theon read out the edict on this matter from Lupus, how he (or 'who'? *ωc* for *ὅc*?) was giving them the order to process, while expressing disapproval of the representation of the emperor by an actor from the stage. Thus far ourselves; and the emperor spoke without deliberation to Paul and our representatives, 'These things happen in such confrontations. For instance, when I myself was in the Dacian war, one of the . . . began to make trouble(?) . . .'

The end begins to be speculative, but see CGL II 203.9, where *tumultuatur* is glossed, in rather garbled fashion, *θρυλλεῖ(ν)*, *θορυβεῖ(ν)*, cf. E. Sophocles, *Lexicon*, G. W. H. Lampe, *PGL* s.v. *θρυλλέω*, and perhaps PSI V 452.20 (*c.*AD 325), where in a damaged context *ἐθροίλει* (= *ἐθρύλει*) seems to have this sense. One lambda is presumably correct, though the doubling seems to be frequent in later texts.

The crucial point is *ἔτος ᾱ*[in line 2. The only even possible 'year 1' in the prefecture of Lupus is 1 Hadrian, which began on 11 August, AD 117 and could not be known in Alexandria till some days later. If Lupus was involved, he must have been prefect still for a period after news of Hadrian's accession had arrived in Alexandria. The only alternative interpretation on offer is *ἐτοcᾱ[cαν|τ]ο*, supposedly a corruption of *ἐτωθάcαντο*, which is far fetched.

In my hypothesis the procession is part of the celebrations for the beginning of the new reign. The *ἀπὸ cκηνῆc καὶ ἐκ μίμου βαcιλεύc* is an actor representing either the dead Trajan or the new ruler, Hadrian. P. Giss. 3 is evidence for dramatic representations on accessions. Official disapproval can be guessed to have arisen because of the offensive jokes which the Alexandrians were notoriously apt to make about their rulers, cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 19.2, with G. W. Mooney's commentary. The story which follows in Suetonius about an *archimimus* called Favor, who wore the mask of Vespasian at the emperor's funeral and made a joke about his meanness, seems to relate to Rome, although this is the only passage which alludes to an actor filling such a role at a Roman funeral.

This hypothesis remains to be tested by new evidence. As well as the question of interpretation of this passage, for alternatives see H. Musurillo, *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs* 181–7, there is also a question whether this sort of text would be reliable on such a point. I am inclined to think that it would.

cτρ(ατηγοῖc) ⟦. ⟧'. . . [.]. . [. . .]. ( )' *νομ(ῶν) χαίρε(ιν)*. The damage is too great for certainty, but I guess that this will have read *cτρ(ατηγοῖc)* ⟦*ζ̄*⟧ '*τῷν* [*ὑ*]*πο*[*γεγ*]*ρ(αμμένων)*' *νομ(ῶν) χαίρε(ιν)*. The best parallel to **3781**, W. Chr. 490, is addressed *cτρ(ατηγοῖc) ζ̄ νομ(ῶν) καὶ Ἀρcι(νοΐτου) χαίρειν*, cf. I **58** 1–2, XII **1408** 11, **1409** 7. For *cτρατηγοῖc τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων νομῶν* see e.g. P. Beatty Panop. 2.32 (cf. 35), 117 (cf. 126–7), 250 (cf. 255), 256 (cf. 258). Below here is a complete list of the nomes of the Heptanomia, see 20–3 n. The damage leaves open the possibility that others, those of the south of Egypt, followed. However, in P. Beatty Panop. the letters from the procurator of the Lower Thebaid addressed in the same way are followed by a list of the nomes of that area. In that case the letters could have been addressed simply *cτρατηγοῖc τῆc κατωτέρω Θηβαΐδοc* but the preferred form was *cτρατηγοῖc τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων νομῶν* with all the names specified below. So here *τῶν ζ̄ νομῶν ⟨καὶ Ἀρcινοΐτου?⟩* and *τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων νομῶν* may have been equivalents. I presume that the clerk, knowing who the addressees were, started to write the first and then found it necessary to correct himself after having written as far as *ζ̄ νομ(ῶν)*.

In the case of W. *Chr.* 490 the prefect sent to Middle Egypt a copy of his edict directed to Alexandria along with a covering letter addressed to the local governors. In our case we do not know whether the Alexandrians received a letter or an edict or whether the same wording was used to them. It is also possible that the news reached the Alexandrians officially in an edict from the previous prefect, see above.

Again we do not know in what terms the news was conveyed to the Thebaid on either occasion. W. *Chr.* 490 specifies Middle Egypt only, but the wording of both letter and edict may have been the same to the Thebaid, the separation being made only to suit the machinery of the post.

3–4 *ἐπὶ cωτηρίᾳ τοῦ cύνπαγτ(ος) ἀνθρώπων γένους.* Cf. SB V 8444 ii 7 *τοῦ ἐπιλάμψαντος ἡμεῖν ἐπὶ cωτηρίᾳ τοῦ παντὸc ἀνθρώπων γένους εὐεργέτου Cεβαcτοῦ Αὐτοκράτοροc Γάλβα*, and P. Coll. Youtie II p. 425, 1 n.

6 *θεοῦ . . . πατρός.* Cf. W. *Chr.* 491. 4–6 . . . *Ἁδριανόν . . ., ὃι πάντα δοῦλα* [δι']*ἀρετὴν κ*[αὶ] *πατρὸc*

τύχην θεοῦ. It is clear now that Trajan's title of *θεός* did not derive from any ceremony of apotheosis held in Rome, cf. W. den Boer, *Anc. Soc.* 6 (1975) 204, W. Kierdorf, *Tyche* 1 (1986) 147 56.

7–10 These titles, which are those of Trajan except for *Τραϊανὸς Ἁδριανός* in place of *Νέρουας Τραϊανός*, occur otherwise in the papyri only in P. Alex.-Giss. 25 (= P. Flor. III 326+P. Giss. inv. 92). 6–8 (oath formula), 24–6 (date clause), of 11 September, AD 117 (year 2, Thoth 14), see J. Schwartz's commentary. Shorter titulatures came into use soon afterwards, e.g. P. Giss. 6 ii 19–20, of 1 December. However, this form recalls coins with (*Obv.*) IMP CAES TRAIAN HADRIAN OPT AVG GER DAC (*Rev.*) PARTHIC DIVI TRAIAN AVG F PM TRP COS PP, cf. *ANRW* ii.2.440, and is evidently not 'aberrante' (Schwartz), or 'nicht autorisierte' (Kierdorf, *Tyche* 1 (1986) 154 n. 45), but thoroughly official.

15 *ἐφ'ἡμ(έρας)* τ̄. For Nero no length of time was specified (VII **1021** 14–18 *διὸ πάντες ὀφείλομεν στεφανηφοροῦντας* (l. *-ες*) *καὶ βουθυτοῦντας* (l. *-ες*) *θεοῖς πᾶσι εἰδέναι χάριτας*). For Pertinax the period was fifteen days (W. *Chr.* 490.24–5).

16 *ἑαυτούς* = *ὑμᾶς αὐτούς*. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 169.

18–19 See introd. for the date. Of course this document is not the original but a copy taken some time later in Oxyrhynchus.

20–3 This was evidently a complete list of the districts of the Heptanomia and probably ended the document, although the damage allows the possibility that the list continued with the names of nomes further south, see 2 n. In principle it runs from north to south, beginning with the Letopolite, and so confirming the observation of J. D. Thomas, *Proc. XII . . . Congress of Papyrology* 467, *The Roman Epistrategos* 24, that although this nome is assigned to Lower Egypt by Ptolemy, in the documents it is always associated with the Heptanomia.

In 20 the name of the Arsinoite is indispensable and this excludes the Nilopolite, mentioned in XLVII **3362** 18–19, cf. J. D. Thomas, *Akten XIII . . . Papyrologenkongresses* 400, pointing out that for Ptolemy Nilopolis was a village in the Heracleopolite nome, whereas it had an independent nome by at latest AD 261. This document provides a *terminus post quem* for the creation of the nome; **3362** is later than the foundation of Antinoopolis in AD 130 and is assigned to the second half of the second century.

The separate mention of the Small Oasis indicates that it was regarded as a separate nome. It has been suggested that it was sometimes administered by the same strategus as the Oxyrhynchite nome, see especially D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 1 (1967) 134–7. Hagedorn argued that joint administration was the norm in the Roman period, but new evidence has turned up Heracleides, strategus of the Small Oasis on 29 August, AD 28 (*BIFAO* 73 (1973) 183), a date which falls within the term of Chaereas, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, known from 2 February, AD 23 to 26 January, AD 29 (G. Bastianini, J. E. G. Whitehorne, Papyrologica Florentina XV 86–7), and has extended the term of Aelius Aphrodisius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome from at least 28 August, AD 149 to 3 March, AD 154 (ibid. p. 92–3), so as to bracket the mention of Sarapion strategus of the Small Oasis in AD 150/1 (P. Harris I 62). P. Merton III 106.3 (see n.) shows that the Small Oasis was a separate nome at the time that document was drafted, which the sale price of the donkey suggests was in the last quarter of the third century, perhaps in the 280s, cf. J. D. Thomas, *ZPE* 6 (1970) 181. The whole question needs a new examination, but the passage which is claimed as the most reliable evidence for a shared strategus (in AD 171), SB VIII 9905.1, reads *Πραυίλῳ στρατηγῷ Μ[ικρᾶ]ς Ὡρ̣ί[c]ε̣ω̣[c* (cf. Bastianini, Whitehorne, Pap. Flor. XV 84). Since one of the parties comes from the Oxyrhynchite village of Seryphis, it is probable that Praeylus is here, as elsewhere, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome and that the doubtful reading is wrong. See now G. Wagner, *Les Oasis d'Égypte* 259–61.

22 *ζ νομ(ὧν)*. For this form rather than (*Ἑπτα*)*νομ(ίας)* see J. D. Thomas, *Akten XIII . . . Papyrologenkongresses* 401–2.

23 *Ἑρμ*]*ο(πολίτου)*. This is a certain restoration, given the nature and the geographical arrangement of the list. The document may have finished at this point, see 20–3 n.

3782. Registration of Sheep and Goats

38 3B.81/B(1–2)a 12.5 × 17 cm. 172–3

There are striking variations here from the usual form of this type of document, cf. **3778–3779** introd. The initial reference to orders of the prefect is not found in other examples, although it very much resembles clauses in some census returns, declarations of uninundated land, and general property returns. Such a clause does appear in SPP XXII 97, which is the registration of a single animal, probably a camel, datable to *c.*AD 179–80 (G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 299 n. 3). Even more unusual is the reference to a previous declaration in the same terms before an epistrategus (16–18). The only surviving return of any kind to an epistrategus is still, it seems, the declaration of the possession of a boat W. *Chr.* 248, cf. W. *Gdz.* p. 205. However, the epistrategus had some duties connected with livestock; he appointed commissioners for the *ἐξαρίθμησις θρεμμάτων*, see J. D. Thomas, *The Roman Epistrategos* (Pap. Colon. VI), 74–5, 171, and XIX **2228** may possibly attest a direct responsibility for the maintenance of the supply of livestock, see Thomas, op. cit., 168.

The date range to which the document must be assigned, AD 172–3, see 16 n., 17–18 n., 21 n., raises the possibility of some connection with the circumstances of the revolt of the *Βουκόλοι* (*RE* III 1013), but this is a tentative guess from which it would be hard to go further.

The back is blank.

. [6–8 letters] *Ἡλιοδώρῳ βασιλ(ικῷ) γρ(αμματεῖ) διαδεχο(μένῳ)*
καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρ(ατηγίαν) (vac.)
παρ[ὰ Ε]ὐδαιμωνίδος ἀπελευθ(έρας) Ἑλληνί[
μ[ετὰ κ]υρίο(υ) Χαιρᾶτ(ος) ἀπ[ελ(ευθέρου)] Πετοσί(ριος) ἀμφ[ορ(έων)
ἀ[πὸ κώ(μης)] Παλώσεως. ἀπογράφομαι [κατὰ
τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ Γαΐου Καλουϊσίου
Στατιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγε(μόνος) τὰ ὑῆ̣
κτηθέντα μοι εἰς τὴν ἐνεστ(ῶσαν) ἡμέραν
πρόβατα λ̄η̄ ἀρνία ῑβ̄ [αἰ]γ̣ας β̄, ἃ καὶ νεμή-
σετα[ι π]ερὶ κώ(μην) Παλῶσιν καὶ δι'ὅλου τοῦ
ν[ομοῦ] ἀκωλύτως διὰ νομαίρ̣ος [3–5 letters?
κ̣ῳ̣[. . . . ἀ]π̣ε̣(λευθέρου) Διοσκοῦτ̣ος ἀπ' Ὀξ̣[υρύγ-
χων [πόλ(εως)] κ̣α̣ὶ ὀμ[νύ]ω Αὐτοκρά̣[τορα
Καίσα[ρα Μ]ᾶρκον Αὐρήλιον Ἀντωνῖν[ο]ν
Σε[βαστὸν Ἀρ]μενιακὸν Μηδικὸν Παρθικὸν
Γ[ερμανικ]ὸν Μέγιστον ἃ̣ [κ]α̣ὶ ἀπεγραψά-
μην παρὰ Ἀκυλίῳ Καπιτωλίνῳ τῷ̣ κρ(ατίστῳ)

1 *βασ*ίγρ*διαδεχ̄ 2 *στρ* 3 l. *Εὐδαιμονίδος*; *απελευθ* 4 *κ]υρι°χαιρα*τ*απ[ελ*?*]πετοσ*ι*αμφ[ο*τ*?
6 *καλουϊσιου* 7 *ηγε̄* 8 *ενεσ*τ 10 *κω̄* 11 l. *νομέως* 12 *α]π̣ε̣?* 17 *κρ*

ἐ[πι]ϛτρατ[ήγ]ῳ ἰ ἔνοχος ἴην τῷ ὅργῳ.
(ἔτους) . . Αὐτοκράτορος Καίϲα]ρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
Ἀντωνίνου Ϲεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ] Μηδικῷ
Παρθικοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίϲτου, 2–7 letters]. ϛ̄.

. . . . .

18 ἰ, ἴνη; l. ἤ, εἶην, ὅρκῳ

'To . . . Heliodorus royal scribe administering also the office of the strategus, from Eudaemonis freedwoman of Hellen . . . with as guardian Chaeras freedman of Petosiris, both from the village of Palosis. I register according to the orders of C. Calvisius Statianus the most illustrious governor the (animals) acquired by me to date at the present day, 38 sheep, 12 lambs, 2 goats, which will graze unhindered in the neighbourhood of the village of Palosis and throughout the entire nome, the shepherd being . . . freedman of Dioscous from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, and I swear by Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Germanicus Maximus in the same terms as are in the registration which I laid before Aquilius Capitolinus the excellent epistrategus or may I be liable to the consequences of the oath.'

'Year (13?) of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Germanicus Maximus, (Choeac?) 10th.'

1 Restore a *nomen* such as Ἡ[ουλίῳ] or Κ[λαυδίῳ] or Φ[λαουΐῳ]. Heliodorus is not in the list by G. Bastianini, J. E. G. Whitehorne, Papyrologica Florentina XV.

According to S. Avogadro's view (*Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 148–9) the livestock registrations of the later type in the Oxyrhynchite nome were always directed to more than one official if they were not copies to be filed in the archives, cf. II **357**, attached to another similar return. Our document being addressed to one person, should it be considered a copy from the archives? Compare BGU I 358, which is directed to a royal scribe acting for the strategus and to the royal scribe.

For livestock registrations addressed to the royal scribe alone see Avogadro, op. cit., 146. None of the published 'singular' sheep registrations directed to the royal scribe comes from the Oxyrhynchite nome. (For the terms 'singular' and 'cumulative' applied to property returns see A. Calderini, *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo*, 1922, 533–41, cf. Avogadro, *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 147.)

3 Restore perhaps Ἑλλην[ίδοc, cf. P. Harr. I 138 i 15, or Ἑλλην[ίωνοc, cf. XLI **2954** 30 and n.

6–7 For the prefect, in office AD 170–5, see G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 298; 38 (1980) 83. Add P. Wash. Univ. I 3.10 (no date). Cf. J. Schwartz, *ZPE* 20 (1976) 101, J. D. Thomas, *Actes du XVe Congrès International de Papyrologie* iv (Pap. Brux. 19), 136.

8 εἰc τὴν ἐνεϲτ(ῶcαν) ἡμέραν. See *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 181.

16 Γ[ερμανικ]όν. Cf. P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures*, 84. This victory title was taken by Marcus in AD 172, see A. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*, 234, P. Kneissl, *Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser*, 106. (Note that in P. Grenf. II 57.23–4, which is accepted by Kneissl as an anomalously early appearance of *Germanicus*, the restoration Παρθικῶν Γερ]μανικῶν has been corrected to Παρθικῶν] Μεγίϲτων, see BL VI 46.) Marcus does not yet have the title *Germanicus* in BGU II 514.1–4, of regnal year 12, Phamenoth 1 = 25 February, AD 172; he does have it in SB XII 10953 (= P. Tebt. II 617).1–3, of year 12, Pachon 16 = 11 May, AD 172, and in P. Cair. Preis. 27 (= P. Fay. 207).1–6, of year 12, Payni 7 = 1 June, AD 172, which is under the wrong rubric in P. Bureth, op. cit., 83. This date range for the appearance of the title in the papyri, between 25 February and 11 May, AD 172, might perhaps be narrowed by a more exhaustive search. However, even on this basis the present document must be later than 25 February, AD 172 and earlier than 27 May, AD 173, see 17–18 n. See also 21 n. for a possible reading of the month and day there.

It needs to be stressed that the papyri give evidence for the title *Germanicus* several months earlier than is suggested by modern authors, who attribute it to the second half of AD 172, see most recently M. L. Astarita, *Avidio Cassio*, 67 n. 24. She, however, simplifies and distorts what her predecessors say.

17–18 For the epistrategus see J. D. Thomas, *The Roman Epistrategos* (Pap. Colon. VI), 189, 201. A dedication at Bostra, IGLS xiii.1 9035, may represent the same person at an earlier stage of his career:

L(ucius) Aquilius Capitolinus p(rimus) p(ilus) leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae). The *praenomen* of the epistrategus is unknown. He was known as epistrategus of the Heptanomia from 26 November, AD 169 to 13 March, AD 171, and this document shows him in office in AD 172 3, see 16 n., possibly on 6 December, AD 172, see 21 n. The earliest known date for his successor is 27 May, AD 173, see Thomas, ibid., a date which gives a firm *terminus ante quem* for the present document.

21]. ϛ̄. The traces are faint, so that it would be rash to insist on certainty in their interpretation. All the same, it is tempting to say that only Χοία]κ ϛ̄ will suit them. The iota and its bar are nearly certain. The possible final letters of Egyptian months are only seven: eta (Mesore), theta (Thoth, Phamenoth), iota (Phaophi, Tybi, Pharmuthi, Payni), kappa (Choeac), nu (Pachon), rho (Hathyr, Mecheir), and phi (Epeiph). Of this restricted group, a cursive kappa is by far the best possibility. If this is right, the only possible date within the range set by other factors, see 16 n. and 17–18 n., is 6 December, AD 172.

Declarations of sheep and goats were normally submitted in Mecheir or Epeiph, see Avogadro, *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 185–6, cf. **3778** 40 n. A date in Choeac would be another anomaly in **3782**.

3783. Receipt for *Πρόcοδοι*

38 3B.79/J(1–3)c 7.5 × 11 cm 24 December 205–January/February 206

This is a cumulative receipt for at least three instalments of *πρόcοδοι* (*γενημ-ατογραφουμένων ὑπαρχόντων*), thought to be payments on lands belonging to persons who were in arrears with sums owed to the state. For the latest short summary of the state of knowledge on the subject, with a collection of parallels and literature, see P. Hamb. III 211 introd. This text gives the first definite evidence of such exactions outside the Arsinoite nome, where they were collected by *ἐπιτηρηταί*, that is, by way of compulsory service. Here the payment is made to tax-farmers (*τελῶναι ὠνῆc προcόδων νομοῦ Ὀξυρυγχίτου*, a new title), by agency of the elders of the village of Toka. This can be added to the evidence for village elders as collectors of government dues, see A. Tomsin, *Bull. Acad. Belg.* 38 (1952) 486–97.

The papyrus appears to be broken at the foot only, but see 7 n. The back is blank.

ιδ (ἔτους) Αὐτοκρατόρων Καιϲάρων
Ϲεουήρου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου
καὶ Γέτα Καιϲάρων τῶν κυρίων,
μη(νὸc) Ἀδρι(ανοῦ) κῆ. διέγρ(αψαν) Παυϲανίᾳ
καὶ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ καὶ Ἀπολλω(νίῳ)
τελ(ώναιc) ὠνῆ(c) (π)ρ(οc)όδ(ων) νομ(οῦ) Ὀξ(υρυγχίτου)
[οἱ α]ὐτ(οὶ) δι(ὰ) (π)ρ(ϵc)βυτέρων) κώμ(ηc) Τόκα ἐπὶ λ(όγου)
δραχμὰc τριάκοντα ἕξ,

1 ιδ∫ 4 μη̄αδρι∫, δ̣εγρ∫ 5 απολλω̄ 6 λ τεων η ρ)ο δ νο μ οξ⁻ 7 [...]υ τ δ̣ρ)β̄κω μ, επι λ

(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) λϛ. Πλούταρχ(ος) cεcη(μείωμαι).
καὶ τῇ η̄ τοῦ Τῦβι μη(νὸc) οἱ α(ὐτοὶ)
ἐπὶ λ(όγου) δ̣ρ̣αχμὰc τριάκοντα ἓξ̄,
(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) λϛ. Πλούταρχ(ος) cεcη(μείωμαι).
(m. 2) καὶ τῇ ̄ τοῦ Μεχ(εὶρ) ο̣ῑ̣ [α(ὐτοὶ)
δρα(χμὰc) τριάκοντα [ἓξ̄,
(γίνονται)] (δραχμαὶ) λ̣ϛ̣. Παρ̣. . . . [

9 /ʃ, πλουταρχcεcη⁻ 10 μῆοιᾶ 11 επι^λ 12 /ʃ, πλουταρχcεcη⁻ 13 μεχ 14 δραʃ? 15 /]ʃλϛ?

'Year 14 of the Imperatores Caesares Severus and Antoninus and Geta, Caesares the lords, month of Hadrianus, 28th. The same persons paid to Pausanias and Heraclius alias Apollonius, farmers of the concession for the revenues (on land distrained by the state) in the Oxyrhynchite nome, through the elders of the village of Toka, on account thirty-six drachmas, total 36 dr. I, Plutarchus, have signed.'

'And on the 8th of the month of Tybi the same persons (paid) on account thirty-six drachmas, total 36 dr. I, Plutarchus, have signed.'

(2nd hand) 'And on the . . . th of the (month of) Mecheir (the same persons paid?) thirty-six drachmas, total 36 dr. I, Par . . . (have signed?).'

4 Ἁδρι(ανοῦ) κῆ = 24 December 205.

7 [οἱ α]ὐτ(οί). The top margin is preserved; the side edges, though damaged and frayed, look as if this piece was an independent document broken only at the foot, but [οἱ α]ὐτ(οί) suggests that it was a continuation of a receipt with earlier payments. It is possible, in spite of appearances, that the document is broken at the left, and that there may have been an earlier column, or even more than one.

(π)ρ(εc)β(υτέρων). For the abbreviation cf. XLIX **3496** 9 n.

13 The day number could possibly be between ten and twenty, i.e. read ι̣, but the narrow space suggests rather a single letter with a straight back, perhaps eta or kappa. Mecheir covers 26 January to 24 February 206; the 8th = February 2, the 20th = February 14. Lines 1–12 are in the same hand, no doubt that of Plutarchus. There is no obvious difference between 1–9 and 10–12, though they are supposed to be about ten days apart in date. Lines 13–15 are written in a larger, clumsier hand and with a thicker pen, by a different clerk, Par . . ., acting for the tax-farmers.

At the end of 13 there seems hardly room to restore ἐπὶ λ(όγου) after ο̣ῑ̣ [α(ὐτοί); it may have been crowded in, but the absence of μη(νός) also suggests that this clerk was using a different formula.

3784. Application for Anacrisis

38 3B.83/D(3–4)a 9×11 cm 227/8 or 281/2

Anacrisis was an official interrogation of a slave at the prospect of his first sale in Egypt, designed only to establish a presumption of his legal status as a slave. On the subject see H. J. Wolff, *ZRG* 83 (1966) 340–9, I. Bieżuńska-Małowist, *L'Esclavage* ii (période romaine), 54–62, where **3784** is also considered, see esp. 55 n. 43. There

are three chief parallels to this application: XII **1463** and XLIX **3477**, both addressed to the nomarch of Antinoe, and PSI XII 1254, addressed to two *hypomnematographi*, location unspecified. All three of these were excavated at Oxyrhynchus. The fragmentary P. Ant. III 187 contains parts of two more, addressed to the Oxyrhynchite strategus, as shown by G. Messeri, *APF* 29 (1983) 33–6. It is likely that SPP XXII 60 is the beginning of a similar application addressed to the strategus of the Athribite nome, although the text breaks off too early to allow certainty. In P. Mich. IX 526 the application is lost except for the date and parts of a copy of a sale submitted in support. **3784** is addressed to Aurelius Hierax and an unnamed colleague 'in charge of the interrogation of slaves sold at Motis'. The seller is also from this place, which appears in only one other document, and is possibly to be sought in one of the oases, see 3 n. The new title casts a different light on Wolff's view that 'es überhaupt keine festen Kompetenzabgrenzungen in diesem Bereich gab' and that 'jede gerade greifbare Gau- oder Polisbehörde den Akt vornehmen könnte' (op. cit. 343). Evidently the process was managed differently in different localities and in this one there was a committee of two specially assigned to the task. If the place was indeed in an oasis, the appointment may have been made precisely because the administrative machinery was less developed there than in the nomes of the Nile valley. On the administration of the Small Oasis see **3781** 20–3 n.

The other examples are submitted by the buyer only, **3784** by both seller and buyer.

The remains of the date clause show that the document was written in the seventh regnal year of an emperor with the names Marcus Aurelius. Since the named official and the buyer and seller all have the *nomen* Aurelius, evidently as a result of the *constitutio Antoniniana*, only two years are possible: AD 227/8 (Severus Alexander) and AD 281/2 (Probus), cf. P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales*, 105–26, esp. 108–10, 124–5. The palaeography does not offer a secure choice between these. The hand is a small rapid cursive with a propensity to loops and curves. It can be compared with W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, nos. 36 (AD 236) and 37b (AD 274).

The back is blank.

Αὐρηλίῳ Ἱέρακει καὶ τῷ cὺν αὐτῷ τοῖ⟨c⟩ ἐπὶ τῆc
ἀνακρίcεωc τῶν πιπρακομένων ἀνδρα-
πόδων ἐπὶ Μῶτεωc παρὰ Αὐρηλ(ίας) Cενοcῖριc
Cαραπίωνοc Ὥρου ἀπὸ Μῶτεωc καὶ Αὐρηλία⟨c⟩
Χάρμιτι καὶ ὡc χρη(ματίζει). βουλόμεθα ἡ μὲν Αὐρηλ(ία)
C]ενο[cῖ]ριc ἀποδόcθαι τὴν ὑπάρχουc[ά]ν

1 l. Ἱέρακι 3 αυρη^λ; l. Cενοcίριοc 5 χρη^λ, αυρη^λ

μοι δ[ούλ]ην Ἰcιδώραν ἐπικεκλ(ημένην) Λαμπ[ρο]τύ-
χηι ǫ̣ὖcαι πρὸc τὸ ἐνεcτὸc ἔτοc (ἐτῶν) ιβ οἰκο-
γενῆ ἐκ [μ]ητρὸc Ἀλεξάνδρας δούλης μου
λευ⟨κό⟩χρουι τετανότριχα, ἡ δὲ Αὐρηλ(ία) Χάρ-
μιτι ὠ[ν]ήcαcθαι τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ προ-
κ[ειμέ]νην δο[ύ]λην ἐπὶ τοῖ[c] πρ[ο]κειμέν[οις
δ[ικ]αίοις. δι[ὸ] πρ[ο]cάγομε[ν] ὑμεῖν αὐτή[ν,
ἀξ[ιοῦcαι] τὴν δέουcαν ἀνάκριcιν αὐ-
τῆc [γενέ]cθαι κατὰ τὰ κελευc[θέ]ντα.
(ἔτουc) ζ′ Αὐτοκράτ[οροc] Κ̣αί̣caροc
Μάρκ[ου Α]ὐρηλί[ου

. . . . .

7 επικεκ$^{\lambda}$ 8 ∟ ιβ 10 τετανότριχα: ε corr. from ι?; αυρη$^{\lambda}$ 13 l. ὑμῖν 16 ∟ ζ′

'To Aurelius Hierax and his colleague, in charge of the interrogation of slaves offered for sale at Motis, from Aurelia Senosiris daughter of Sarapion son of Horus from Motis, and from Aurelia Charmiti and however she may be styled.'

'We wish: I, Aurelia Senosiris, to sell my own female slave Isidora also called Lamprotyche, being this year 12 years old, home-bred, her mother being my slave Alexandra, white-skinned, with long straight hair, and I, Aurelia Charmiti, to buy the same and aforesaid slave on the aforesaid lawful conditions. Therefore we bring her before you, requesting that the necessary interrogation of her may be held in accordance with the orders on the subject.'

'Year 7 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius . . .'

1 *Ἱέρακει = Ἱέρακι.* Epsilon is by no means clearly written. It may be that in writing his rapid, looping style of script, the clerk unintentionally made an extra stroke at this point. He appears to have left out a letter in *τοῖ⟨c⟩* later in this line and in *Αὐρηλία⟨c⟩* in line 4, and in 10 to have left out a syllable in *λευ⟨κό⟩χρουν*. Cf. 3 n.

1–3 For the title see introd.

3 *Μώτεως*. Cf. 4 *ἀπὸ Μώτεως*. In both places the writing of mu omega has one loop less than might have been expected, but one can see similar writings of the same syllable in many texts, e.g. W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, No. 36 (= W. *Chr.* 276).1 *Εὐδα]ίμων*, 6 [*Ἀγα]θὸc Δαίμων*, No. 37b (= M. *Chr.* 198).9, 17 *νόμων*. It is only the rarity of the place name which causes hesitation. It appears in this form in one text only, PSI XII 1228.5, 9, 43 (cf. BL III 229), see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 112. That document is the sale of a slave, in which two persons are from Motis and another *ἀπὸ Ἀφροδειcίου τῆc Μεικρᾶc Ὀάcεωc*. This might tempt us to think that Motis too belonged to the Small Oasis and indeed this view has obviously influenced the entry under *Μῶθιc* in A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* iii, 308, where *Μώτεως* in PSI 1228 has been identified with *Μώθεως* in P. Lips. I 64 (= W. *Chr.* 281).20 and the place has been ascribed to the Small Oasis. However, the review of the evidence for *Μῶθιc* by U. Wilcken, *APF* 4 (1908) 478–80, showed irrefutably that *Μῶθιc* or *Μωθιτῶν πόλιc* was a place in the Great Oasis; see now also S. Daris, *Aegyptus* 63 (1983) 147–50. It may well be right to take *Μῶτιc* as a phonetic spelling of *Μῶθιc*, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I, 92, but in that case its location remains in the Great Oasis far to the south of Oxyrhynchus and in the Thebaid, whereas the Small Oasis was most easily reached from Oxyrhynchus and belonged to the Heptanomia. For commercial relations probably linking both these oases, as well as the oasis of Ammon, with Oxyrhynchus see XLI **2975** and **2983**. See now G. Wagner, *Les Oasis d'Égypte* 189–90.

Cενοcῖρις = Cενοcίριοc. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 28 9. It is uncertain whether the last letter is sigma or omicron. In the latter case the name would read *Cενοcίριο⟨c⟩*. The omission of final sigma occurs elsewhere in this document (1, 4).

5 *Χάρμιτι*. Cf. 10–11. This indeclinable form is not attested elsewhere; it seems to be related to *Χάρμιc*, see BGU IX 1897.94 (*Χάρμιν*), P. Leit. 1.8 (*Χάρμιτοc*), P. Giss. Univ. Bibl. 32.20 (*Χάρμειν = -ιν*), and in fact it would be acceptable as a dative of that name, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii, 55–8. Here it is treated as an Egyptian name, see Gignac, op. cit., 103.

8 *ἐνεcτόc*. The writing is very compendious again, but this is the expected common form; not *εἰcιόν* or *ἐπιόν*.

8–9 *οἰκογενῆ*. For anacrisis of home-bred slaves see I. Bieżuńska-Małowist, *L'Esclavage* ii (période romaine), 59–61.

10 *τετανότριχα*. Cf. A. Caldara, 'I connotati personali', *Studi della Scuola Papirologica* iv. 2 (Milan 1924) 58–63.

3785. Latin Military List

38 3B.79/G(1–2)b 14 × 16 cm *c.*250

The soldiers' names are arranged by century and date of enlistment as usual. The centuries indicate that they are probably footsoldiers, and if horsemen, they must be legionary horsemen, cf. M. P. Speidel, *Aegyptus* 66 (1986) 166. Many of the names are specifically Egyptian, so that they do not belong to a unit from outside the province, but either to the *legio II Traiana*, the only legion in Egypt and stationed there since at least AD 127, cf. B. Isaac–I. Roll, *ZPE* 33 (1979) 149, 154, or to an auxiliary cohort. There are no marginal notations, so that this is probably either a partial roster or a list compiled for some special purpose, cf. R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records*, 2–4, 9–10. The fact that men from the same century are separated, see 30 n., makes a special list more likely. It is not a list of *principales*, since there are at least eight men listed under one century and date (10–17).

The dates of enlistment range from AD 226 to AD 246. The later year is the earliest possible date for the papyrus, while the earlier one indicates that the soldier in question had already served for twenty years in AD 246. Terms of thirty-five (P. Rainer Cent. 165 ii 11 = *ZPE* 56 (1984) 84, col. iii 13), thirty-six, and even forty-five years (R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records*, 83–4) are attested, so that the outside lower limit might be as late as AD 271, but a term in the region of twenty-five years is more normal and *c.*AD 250 is a reasonable approximation to the likely date.

The papyrus is broken at the foot and at each side, leaving parts of the top margin and ends of lines from one column followed by beginnings from the next. The writing, a good sloping cursive, runs along the fibres of the recto. There is a sheet-join running vertically about 3 cm from the right-hand edge. The back is blank.

col. i

ç *Eu]daemonọṣ*
Sabi]no II et Venust⟨o⟩ co(n)s(ulibus) (AD 240)
]ṣ Horigenes
]ṣ Arrianus
]ṣ Copres
ç *Cop]ṛẹṭị⟨s?⟩*
Lupo e]t Maximo co(n)s(ulibus) (AD 232)
]ṣ [P]ṛịṣçus
Sabi]no II et Venusṭọ çọ(n)ṣ(ulibus) (AD 240)
]ṣ Hoṛ[ig]ẹnes
] Ḷ[eo]nides
]ṣ Horigenes
]ṣ Epimaçḥụs
]ṣ Nilammon
]ṣ Orion
]ṣ Sarapammon
]ṣ Arpocration

. . . . .

1 ç = *c(enturia)*, and so throughout 2 *cos* = *consulibus* or *consule*, and so throughout

col. i 'Century of Eudaemon,
Sabinus II and Venustus consuls (AD 240)
. . . Horigenes
. . . Arrianus
. . . Copres.'
'Century of Copres(?),
Lupus and Maximus consuls (AD 232)
. . . Priscus.
Sabinus II and Venustus consuls (AD 240)
. . . Horigenes
. . . Leonides
. . . Horigenes
. . . Epimachus
. . . Nilammon
. . . (H)orion
. . . Sarapammon
. . . (H)arpocration . . .'

col. ii

ç *Sereni, Venusto co(n)s(ule)* (AD 240)
Aurelius Agathocles
ç *Anniani, isdem co(n)s(ulibus)* (AD 240)
Iulius Castor
ç *Copreti⟨s?⟩, isdem co(n)s(ulibus)* (AD 240)
Aurelius Sarapion
Aurelius . [
s(upra)s(cript-) iuẹ. . . . [
Praesente ẹ[t Albino co(n)s(ulibus) (AD 246)
ç *Copreṭ[i⟨s?⟩*
Attico [et Praetextato co(n)s(ulibus) (AD 242)
Aurelius . . [
Praesent[e et Albino co(n)s(ulibus) (AD 246)
Arrius Ịụḷ[
ç *Annianị* [
Aufidio Ṃ[arcello II co(n)s(ule) (AD 226)
Petronius . [

. . . . .

25 *s·s·*

col. ii 'Century of Serenus, Venustus consul (AD 240)
Aurelius Agathocles.'
'Century of Annianus, same consuls (AD 240)
Julius Castor.'
'Century of Copres(?), same consuls (AD 240)
Aurelius Sarapion
Aurelius . . .'
'The above written . . .
Praesens and Albinus consuls.' (AD 246)
'Century of Copres(?),
Atticus and Praetextatus consuls (AD 242)
Aurelius . . .'
Praesens and Albinus consuls (AD 246)
Arrius Julianus(?).'
'Century of Annianus,
Aufidius Marcellus II consul (AD 226)
Petronius . . .'

1 ϛ *Eu]daemonoṣ*. The Greek ending is slightly unexpected, cf. e.g. CPL 168.8 *P]asionis*, 169.3 *Anubionis*, 170.8, 10 *Theonis*, 12 *Hatrionis*, 172.2 *Sarapionis*. The nearest parallel I can cite is *Thebaidos* in CPL 262.8 and 265.5, cf. *Thebaidis* in CPL 222.19. Here]*daemon-* seems clear enough and *-oṣ* suits, whereas *-is* does not. Space favours Eudaemon over Agathodaemon.

The symbol for *c(enturia)* is usually printed in a form resembling the arabic figure 7, which is based on such manuscript forms as we see in e.g. XLI **2953** 6 (Pl. I), P. Mich. X 592 ii 3 (Pl. IV). Here (18, 20, 22, 27, 32), although the shape is very cursive and flowing, see Pl. IV, it can be more readily interpreted as a C (the initial letter of *centuria*) with an oblique mark of abbreviation which begins from the lower end of the arc of C and slopes steeply down to the left. Since the letter C is no doubt at the origin of all such symbols, however cursive, a printed form which reflects this is preferable, such as ϛ, cf. P. Mich. VII 444.2 n., esp. ftn. 3.

2 Cf. 9, 18. The date is AD 240. The suggested *nomen* Se[ius? for Venustus, e.g. A. Degrassi, *Fasti*, 67, rests on a false reading, see J. Rea, *Proc. XII International Congress of Papyrology*, 427 n. 2. Fuller forms of their names, Suetrius Sabinus and Ragonius Venustus, have turned up in *AE* 1971 no. 431, pp. 141–2.

The writing of *Venusto* is clear and complete in 18. Here it seems certain that the crossbar of *t* runs straight to the *c* of *cos*, presumably as the result of haste rather than as a deliberate abbreviation. In 9 the damage obscures the end. In all three cases *Venust-* is certain, and in the first two *Sabi]no II* is entirely satisfactory.

3–5, 8, 10–17 Comparison with col. ii shows that many of these soldiers will have had the *nomen* Aurelius, but there is enough variation to make it impossible to restore in any particular case.

6 ϛ *Cop]ṛẹṭị⟨s?⟩* is palaeographically attractive, but see 22 n. for the difficulty.

7 *Lupo e]t Maximo* (AD 232) suits the space better than *Albino e]t Maximo* (AD 227), cf. 2 and 9, where *Sabi]no*, pretty much the same length as *Albino*, leaves substantial remains.

8 Cf. 3–5 n.

10–17 Cf. 3–5 n.

15 *Orion* = *Horion*. Cf. 17 *Arpocration* = *Harpocration*; contrast *Horigenes*, 3, 10, 12. Cf. P. Mich. VIII 468.14 n. on uncertainty about aspiration in Latin. It was widespread in Greek too, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 134–8.

18 *Venusto co(n)s(ule)*. Cf. 2, 9, and 2 n. This is a particularly clear example of the use of only one consul's name merely for the sake of brevity. The long form in 2 and 9 shows that there is no question of *damnatio memoriae* in the case of Sabinus. Cf. 33 n.

22 *Copreti⟨s?⟩*. The reading seems clear. We have *Copreṭ*[in 27, and *Cop]ṛẹṭị* is tempting for 6. We expect *Copretis* as a Latin genitive of *Κοπρῆς*. The form *Κοπρήτος* in BGU IX 1900.28 looks like a mere clerical error of genitive for nominative, although it appears uniquely as a nominative in D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. However, if *Cop]ṛẹṭị* is wrong in 6, we should simply correct to *Copreti⟨s⟩* here and restore *Copreṭ*[*is* in 27. For the splitting of the century see 30 n.

25–6 These two lines interrupt the normal entries. They seem to refer to something 'written above', *s(upra)s(cripti-*). Since the men immediately above did not enlist till AD 240, it seems safe to restore the name of the junior consul as *Albino* (AD 246) rather than *Extricato* (AD 217), which would be the earliest date in the piece. After *s(upra)s(cripti-*), *iv ẹx χṿị*[is a possibility. There are four soldiers listed above, which could suit *s(upra)s(cripti) iv*. That might be followed by a date, i.e. *ẹx χṿị* [(or a higher figure up to *χṿị*[*iii*) *Kal(endis)* (month)] (consulship in 26), that is, 'The four men listed above (were promoted? seconded? discharged?) from the 16th(?) day before the Calends of . . . in the consulship of Praesens and Albinus'. Cf. R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records* no. 31 (pp. 156–7), no. 66 (pp. 234–9). In no. 64 dates with *ex* are those of enlistment, but that seems to be unsuitable here.

27 There seems little doubt that this is the resumption of the same century as that in 22, see 22 n.

28 The year is AD 242.

30 The year is AD 246. *Extricato* (AD 217) is excluded as the name of the second consul, because the men are listed by seniority, see R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records*, 10. In this connection it should be noted that it is rather odd that men of the same century are here separated, certainly in the case of the century of Annianus, see 20–1 where we have Julius Castor, who enlisted in AD 240, and 32–4 where we have Petronius . . ., who enlisted earlier, in AD 226. Probably the century of Copres was also split, see 6 and 22, although the apparent split in col. ii, see 22 and 27, is not a true split, since the century heading seems to be written a second time only by way of resumption after an abnormal entry which still refers to the same century.

33 *Aufidio M[arcello II co(n)s(ule)*. The year is AD 226, see R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records*, no. 95 introd., P. Dura 69 introd. The senior consul was the emperor Severus Alexander. The Dura document is supposed to date between the death of Severus Alexander and sometime after the reign of Maximinus (AD 235 8), who inflicted *damnatio memoriae* on his predecessor, cf. XLV **3244** 11 n., A. K. Bowman, *JRS* 66 (1976) 156. When Severus Alexander was later deified, his name is supposed to have been restored in the consular formulas. It certainly was sometimes, see R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records*, no. 4b i 5, 10, 18, no. 20.14, no. 24.18. Here, however, the short formula is still used, no doubt for brevity, cf. 18 n., as late as AD 246, by which time Severus Alexander was certainly a *diuus*, cf. e.g. PSI XII 1238.8, in a document of AD 244.

3786. Fragment of Register

67 6B.10/J(1–2)a 19.5 × 17 cm. Third century

This item was cut from an obsolete register so that the back could be used for the letter published below as **3812**, see introd. there. The register had sub-headings consisting of the names of Oxyrhynchite districts, see 16, *Βορρᾶ* (or *Νότου*) *K]ρηπείδος*, cf. H. Rink, *Strassen- und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus*, 38–9. Under these headings the names of persons were listed alphabetically by initial letter. This allows us to see that, although the tops of three columns are preserved, a fair amount must be missing at the foot, since col. ii breaks off among names beginning with delta and col. iii begins with names in epsilon are fairly frequent and one would expect a few in zeta as well. All the surviving names are masculine; the men are further identified either by a patronymic or an alias. Opposite each name is an amount of grain in artabas. Most entries have $\alpha = 1$; eight have $\beta = 2$, five have $\gamma = 3$. In each case the numeral is followed by a sinuous curve and an oblique stroke rising to the right. This frequently means one half, cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* i, 267, 270; on the other hand it sometimes simply marks an ordinal number, cf. Youtie, op. cit., ii, 951–3, especially in dates. In this case it is on the one hand difficult to imagine that the clerk repeated these strokes after every number if they were virtually meaningless, and on the other to prefer the series $1\frac{1}{2}$, $2\frac{1}{2}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, 2, 3. Perhaps we can accept that the strokes here accompany cardinal numbers.

If it is right to guess that most of these people gave or received one artaba of grain, while a few gave or received two or three artabas, it is tempting to connect this document with the Oxyrhynchite corn dole, for which the recipients were registered according to the districts in which they lived and probably received one artaba of wheat each month, see P. Oxy. XL pp. 6, 98. The evidence for this dole is at present confined to a short period *c.*AD 269–72, so there may be an implication that this register too is close in date. For the moment there is no way to confirm the connection or the implication about the date.

The register was written along the fibres of the recto of the roll, as is proved by a surviving sheet-join running vertically about 4.5 cm from the left edge.

col. i

	]χένους	(ἀρτ.) βʃ′
	]. μωνος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	]πίωνος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	].	(ἀρτ.) βʃ′
5	]. ίου κλ( )	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	]αμμωνος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	]. ίωνος	(ἀρτ.) βʃ′
	ὁ] κ(αὶ) Θέων	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	]. ωνίου	(ἀρτ.) γʃ′
10	Δη]μήτριος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	]ωρος	(ἀρτ.) γʃ′
	]. νίου	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	]ων	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	]. ωνος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
15	Διοσκ]ουρίδ( )	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Κ]ρηπείδος	
	]πολλω( )	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	]ηνος	(ἀρτ.) βʃ′
	] Εὐδαίμω(ν)	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
20	]. ρέντιος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Χ]αιρήμω(ν)	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	]. ωρος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	]. . . .	(ἀρτ.) [.]ʃ′
	]. ρνιος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
25	]. . νόου	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	]. . . νος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	] (vac.)	
	]. Πτολ( )	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	]ίων	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
30	]. . . ῳ( )	(ἀρτ.) γʃ′

. . . . . .

5 κλ′ 8 ο]^{κ} and so throughout 15]ουρι^{δ} 16 l. Κρηπίδος 17]πολλ^{ω}
19 ευδαιμῶ 21]αιρημῶ 28 πτ^{ὸ} 30]. . . ῷ

col. ii

	Ἀμμώνιος Ῥωμανοῦ	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων ὁ κ(αὶ) Βησᾶς	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Ἀνθέστιος ὁ κ(αὶ) Οὐαλέριος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Ἁρποκρατίων Σερήνου	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
35	Ἀπολλώνιος Ζωΐλου	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Ἀμόϊς Ἀπεῖτος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἀμόϊς	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Ἄμμων Ἀμμωνος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Ἀφῦγχις Σαραπίωνος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
40	Ἀμόϊς Ἀπολλοδιδύμου	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Ἀμμωνᾶς Ἰσιδώρου	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἀμόϊς	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων Ἀρείου	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Ἀτρῆς ὁ κ(αὶ) Δίδυμος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
45	Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀμμω(ν-)	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Ἄμμων Ἀγήνορος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Ἀμμώνιος ὁ κ(αὶ) Δίδυμος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Ἀνεί̣κητος Ἀπολλω(νίου)	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Βησαρίων Ἀμμω(ν-)	(ἀρτ.) γʃ′
50	Βόλφις ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἱέραξ	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Βησαρίων Ἀρητίωνος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Γάϊος Γαΐου	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Γελάσιος ὁ κ(αὶ) Σερῆνος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Γάϊος Ἰούλ(ιος) Ἀμυντιανὸς	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
55	Διονύσιος ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἡρακλεί̣δ(ης)	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Δεῖος ὁ κ(αὶ) Σώπατρος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Διόσκορος Λεοντᾶτος	(ἀρτ.) βʃ′
	Δίδυμος Κορνηλίου	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Δημήτριος ὁ κ(αὶ) Ὡρ. [	(ἀρτ.) .]ʃ′
60	Δημήτ(ριος) Ἀντωνι[	

. . . . . .

35 ζωϊλου 36 l. Ἄπιτος? 41 ϊσιδωρου 45 αμμω^{-} 48 ε̣ι corr.; l. Ἀνίκητος
49 αμμω^{-} 50 ϊεραξ 52 γαϊοσγαΐου 54 γαϊοσιου^{λ} 55 ηρακλει^{δ} 56 l. Δῖος
60 δημη^{τ} or δημη^{-}?

col. iii

	Ἡρακλῆς Θέωνος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Ἡρακλῆς Θεωνείνου	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Ἡρακλῆς ὁ κ(αὶ) Μέλας	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Ἡρακλείδης ὁ κ(αὶ) Νεμεσιανὸς	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
65	Ἡρακλῆς ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἱέραξ	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Ἡρακλείδης Θέωνος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Ἡραΐσκος Βησάμμωνος	(ἀρτ.) .ʃ′
	Ἡρᾶς ὁ κ(αὶ) Πτολεμαῖος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Ἡρακλᾶς Συρίωνος	(ἀρτ.) βʃ′
70	Ἡρακλείδης Νεοπτολέμου	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Ἡρακλῆς Ἑρμαίου	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Ἡρ. . . . . Ϛαραπαμμω( )	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Ἡρακλῆς ὁ κ(αὶ) Θῶνις	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Θέων ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἡρᾶς	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
75	Θέων ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἀφῦγχις	(ἀρτ.) γʃ′
	Θῶνις ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἄρπαλος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Θ.	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Θέφρ̣ ὁ κ(αὶ) Σεύθης	[(ἀρτ.)] βʃ′
	Θέων ὁ κ(αὶ) Σαραπᾶς	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
80	Θῶνις ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἰσχυρίων	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Θῶνις ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἡρακλῆς	(ἀρτ.) βʃ′
	Θέωνος Θέωνος	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Θέων Θεωνείνου	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Θῶνις Ἀλεξάνδρου	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
85	Θῶνις ὁ κ(αὶ) Θεωνάμμω(ν)	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Θῶνις ὁ̣ κ̣(αὶ) [	
	Θέων Καλλινείκ̣ου	(ἀρτ.) α̣ʃ[′
	Θέων Ἀμυντιανοῦ	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
	Θέων Ἱερακίωνο[ϲ]	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′
90	Θ]έων ὁ κ(αὶ) Ϲα̣[ρα]πάμμω̣ν	(ἀρτ.) αʃ′

. . . . .

62 l. *Θεωνίνου* 65 *ἵεραξ* 72 *σαραπαμμῶ* 80 *ἴσχυριων* 83 l. *Θεωνίνου*
85 *θεωναμμῶ* 87 l. *Καλλινίκου* 89 *ἱερακιωνο[ϲ]*

5 Neither *κλ(ηρονομ-*) nor *Κλ(αυδι-*) seems very attractive in this place, but]*.ιουκλ(*) as a name seems even less likely.

16 See introd. for this heading. The names of the principals just before it probably began with omega and just after it with alpha.

24 *Καλπο]ήρνιος*, the most likely possibility (see F. Dornseiff, B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, 239), would suit.

27 This blank or short line is puzzling. It does not seem likely that there was another heading here so soon after 16, but there may have been. It would have been short, e.g. *Ἑρμαίου*, *Ἡρῴου*, *Κρητικοῦ*, *Πλατείας*. The difficulty is that there would have been only ten persons listed under the North Quay or South Quay district. In XL **2929** these districts have 280+ and 290+ respectively for the largest class of recipients of the corn dole, and in **2928** they have 103 and 31 for the next largest class, and 6 and 3 for the smallest class. It is clear from the alphabetization that all sixty persons in lines 31–90 belonged to the same district. The largest number in any district for the smallest class of dole recipients is 14 (**2928** ii 7). None of these figures fits very well.

43–4 For Agathus Daemon son of Areius cf. XL **2892** i 4–5, 19–20; for Hatres alias Didymus cf. XL **2936** ii 1. These names are so common that identity in either case is unlikely. No other identifications have yet been made.

3787. Tax List

28 4B.60/D(3)a 22 × 28.5 cm *c.*301/2?

This text stands on the back of XLIV **3184**, where a short excerpt and a description were given in the introduction. Because these have caused a misunderstanding about the nature of the tax list, see **3789** introduction, a full edition is given here.

There are two columns of writing, mostly consisting of names and amounts paid. The main heading *Λουκίου συστάτου* and the frequent occurrence of the sum of dr. 1,200 link the list with the tax called *ἐπικεφάλαιον πόλεως*, see **3184** introd. and **3789** introd. However, the sub-headings are names of villages of the Oxyrhynchite nome, although the systates is a city official, which indicates that the tax was payable in respect of some connection with the town. We could guess either that the persons were all resident in the town but registered in their separate villages, or on the contrary that they were registered in the town but had left to live in the villages. Occasional indications of a more precise location within the village sections favour the second view, cf. 3 n.

The date suggested is that of a receipt countersigned by the systates Lucius, PSI III 163, but the signatory's name is not a reliable indication of the precise year, see **3789** introduction, table note (1). A *terminus post quem* is given by **3184**, two items which were glued together side by side as part of a roll-file and which date from October/November AD 296 and 9 January, AD 297. When they were no longer needed, they were detached in one piece from the roll-file and the blank back of this piece was used for the tax list. A *terminus ante quem* of some time in AD 303 can be argued, but with no certainty, see below.

A new point of interest has been revealed by closer study of the text. It includes mentions of a Christian deacon (διάκων ἐκκλησίας, 24 5) and of a reader (ἀνα[γ]ν̣ώστης, 57), who may well be the earliest yet known from documents. The earliest deacon previously known was of AD 324, see P. Coll. Youtie 77 = P. Col. VII 171 with the commentary of E. A. Judge, *Jahrb. f. Antike u. Christentum* 20 (1977) 72–89; the earliest reader was one of AD 304, see XXXIII **2673.**

It is a great pity that we cannot localize for certain the activities of these men. We can see from **2673** that in the village of Chysis there was a church which was abolished in AD 304 during Diocletian's persecution and in which a reader served. Here the deacon is listed under the main sub-heading of the village of Thosbis (20), but the subsequent addition of the name of Mermertha in 22 may apply to the whole section 22–9 and so to the deacon. The reader is listed under Tampetei. Moreover, it does remain possible that they worked in Oxyrhynchus itself and were merely registered in these villages, although the reverse seems more likely, see above and 3 n.

The fact that the deacon and reader are mentioned without ceremony suggests that the document was written before Diocletian's persecution began early in AD 303. This is not certain. The tax was levied at least until AD 320, see **3789**, so that this list could date from after the persecution. The systates Lucius is taken to be the same as the earliest attested systates, Lucius Septimius Serenus (PSI III 164, AD 286/7). If so, a date of AD 301/2 seems more suitable than one after the end of the persecution, say AD 311 at the earliest.

col. i

	Λουκίου συστάτου. Δωσιθέου.	
	.[..]ωνᾶς υἱὸς Σιλβανοῦ	(δρ.) Ἀς
	Ϛισόϊς Θεωνᾶτος ἐν Τ̣ε̣ε̣ρ̣ϛ̣ά̣ϊ	(δρ.) Ἀς
	Ὀννῶφρις Σαραπίων[ο]ς .ν̣	(δρ.) Ἀς
	[.].... Δ̣ιδύμου	(δρ.) Ἀς
]..[.....].	Γαλάτης Πτολαιμαίου	/(δρ.) Ἀς
]Ϛ̣ε̣..[...	Σα]ρμά̣τ̣ης Εὐδαίμονος	/(δρ.) Ἀς
	Ὀ]λβανὸς Ὀλβανοῦ	(δρ.) Ἀς
	Π]α̣τερμοῦθις Π̣ουρῶ	/(δρ.) Ἀς
	.....]ων σκυτεύς	/(δρ.) Ἀς
	.....].τινου (vac.)	
	]. (vac.)	
	Δίδ]υμος Τέκτων λε̣χό̣(μενος)	/(δρ.) Ἀς
	Ἁ]ρ̣μιῦσις υἱὸς Α.[.].α̣	/(δρ.) Ἀς
	Σεν̣..εως. (vac.)	
	Σαραπάμμων καὶ Θεόδωρος	/(δρ.) Ἐ
	...ι..	/(δρ.) Ἐ
	..].... κ̣αὶ Σαρμάτης	/(δρ.) ω
	..]....ς̣ υἱὸς Στρατ̣ί̣π̣π̣ου	/(δρ.) Ἐ
	Θώ̣ς̣βεως. Εὐτ̣ρόπις	/(δρ.) Ἐ
	Διογένης ἀδε̣λ̣φὸς Παπι̣..ος	/(δρ.) Ἐυ
Μερμέρθων	Πινουτίων υἱὸς Ἁράχθου	(δρ.) Ἐυ
	Ἀνικήτης σκελλός	(δρ.) Ἀς
	Ἀπφοῦς διάκων ἐκκλησί-ας καὶ ὁ ἀδελφ(ός)	/(δρ.) Ἐυ
	Σιλβανὸς Διοσκόρου	(δρ.) Ἀς
	Ἀμόϊς Σαραπάμμ⟨ω⟩νος	(δρ.) Ἀς
	Πατερμοῦθις	/(δρ.) Ἀς
	Ψόϊς Διδύμου	(δρ.) Ἀς
	Ἐποικ(ίου) Σαραπίου. (vac.)	

2 ϋϊος, ʃ = (δραχμαί), and so throughout 6 l. Πτολεμαίου 13 λε̣χο̣└ 14 α]ρμϊυσισϋϊος
16 Ἐ corr.? 19 ϋϊοσστρατ̣ι̣π̣.π̣ου? 22 υϊος 25 αδελφ′ 30 εποι^κ

Πατερμοῦθις υἱὸς Στεφάνου
καὶ Στέφανος /(δρ.) ’Βυ
Ψόϊς υἱὸς Ὥρου (δρ.) ’Β
Ἀμόϊς Διονυσίου /(δρ.) ’Βχ
(vac.)
(ταλ.) ς (δρ.) χ

(m. 2; upside down in lower margin):
’Ισίου Τρύφωνος . . / δ. . . . . .

31 υϊος

col. i

‘Lucius systates. Dositheu.
. . . onas son of Silvanus dr. 1,200
Sisois son of Theonas in Teersai(?) dr. 1,200
Onnophris son of Sarapion in(?) . . . dr. 1,200
. . . son of Didymus dr. 1,200.’
‘. . . (village?). Galates son of Ptolemaeus dr. 1,200.’
‘Se . . . Sarmates son of Eudaemon dr. 1,200
Olbanus son of Olbanus dr. 1,200
Patermuthis son of Puros(?) dr. 1,200
. . . on shoemaker dr. 1,200.’
‘. . . tinu
. . .
Didymus called Carpenter dr. 1,200
Harmiysis son of A . . . dr. 1,200.’
‘Senyris (?).
Sarapammon and Theodorus dr. 2,000
. . . dr. 2,000
. . . and(?) Sarmates dr. 800
. . . son of Stratippus(?) dr. 2,000.’
‘Thosbis. Eutropis dr. 2,000
Diogenes brother of Papi . . . dr. 2,400
Mermertha. Pinution son of Harachthes dr. 2,400
Anicetes (the bandy one) dr. 1,200
Apphus, church deacon,
and his brother dr. 2,400
Silvanus son of Dioscorus dr. 1,200
Amois son of Sarapammon dr. 1,200
Patermuthis dr. 1,200
Psois son of Didymus dr. 1,200.’
‘Epoecium Sarapeu.
Patermuthis son of Stephanus
and Stephanus dr. 2,400
Psois son of Horus dr. 2,000
Amois son of Dionysius dr. 2,600
‘Tal.6 dr.600.’
(2nd hand; upside down in lower margin):
‘Iseum Tryphonis . . .’

col. ii

’Ισίδωρος Ἀπίωνος /(δρ.) ’Βυ
Σενεκελεύ. Ἀτῆσις κεραμεύς /(δρ.) ’Β
Βησαρίων ἐν ἐποικ(ίῳ) ’Ισιδώ(ρου) (δρ.) ’Βυ
Σερύφεως. (vac.)
Παῦλος Σαρᾶτος /(δρ.) Ἀς
Τ. [. . . . .] (vac.) /(δρ.) Ἀς
Σαρ[α]πάμμων Συμφόρου /(δρ.) ’Βυ
Θ. [.]. [. . . .]. . [.]. . . . ς. . . . . ( ) (δρ.) Ἀς
Τα[. . . . .] (vac.)
[.]. [. . . . .]. γιτος /(δρ.) ’Βυ
Πρ[co]γτό[εως.] (vac.)
. [. . .]. . ιϲ. [. .]. /(δρ.) ’Βυ
Φοβ[ώο]γ. Λοχχῆν[ο]ς /(δρ.) Ἀς
Ὥρος υἱὸς Ἀπολλωνίου (δρ.) Ἀς
Π. . . . . [. . .] (vac.) (δρ.) Ἀς
Ὥρρ[ϲ] . . [. . .]. ς /(δρ.) Ἀς
Σακαῶν Ὥρου /(δρ.) Ἀς
Ὥφ[ε]ως. (vac.)
Π[λο]ύταρχος υ[ἱὸ]ς Μαρίας /(δρ.) ’Βυ
Ταμπε[τ]εί. Βησαρίων
ἀνα[γ]γώστης /(δρ.) Ἀς
Νικίας παράδοξ[ο]ς /(δρ.) Ἀς
Σαραπάμμων /(δρ.) Ἀς
Ὥρος Ἐκύσιος /(δρ.) Ἀς
Ἀτρῆς Ἐκύσιος /(δρ.) Ἀς
Πατερμοῦθις Σερήνου 〈/(δρ.)〉 Ἀς
Ὥρος υἱὸς Θεανοῦ /(δρ.) ’Βυ
Πέτρος καὶ Παυῆς /(δρ.) ’Βυ
ἐν ἐποικ(ίῳ) Διογένους (vac.)
Κεσμούχεως. (vac.)
Θῶνις Χαιρήμονος (δρ.) Ἀς
(vac.)
(γίνονται) (ταλ.) ιβ (δρ.) Ἀυ
(ταλ.) . . (δρ.) ⟦. ⟧ ’Δω

37 ϊϲιδωρος ’Βυ corr. from Ἀς 39 εποιᴷϊϲιδῶ 49 λοχ’χιν[ο]ς 50 υϊος 55 γ[ιο]ς 63 υϊος; 65 εποιᴷ

col. ii

Isidorus son of Apion dr. 2,400.'
'Senecceleu. Atesis potter dr. 2,000
Besarion, in Epoecium Isidori dr. 2,400.'
'Seryphis.
Paulus son of Saras dr. 1,200
T . . . dr. 1,200
Sarapammon son of Symphorus dr. 2,400
Th . . . dr. 1,200.'
'Ta . . .
. . . dr. 2,400.'
'Posompöis.
. . . dr. 2,400.'
'Phoböu. Longinus(?) dr. 1,200
Horus son of Apollonius dr. 1,200
P . . . dr. 1,200
Horus . . . dr. 1,200
Sacaon son of Horus dr. 1,200.'
'Ophis.
Plutarchus son of Maria dr. 2,400.'
'Tampetei. Besarion
reader dr. 1,200
Nicias, 'the astounding' dr. 1,200
Sarapammon dr. 1,200
Horus son of Hecysis dr. 1,200
Hatres son of Hecysis dr. 1,200
Patermuthis son of Serenus 1,200
Horus son of Theano(?) dr. 2,400
Petrus and Paues dr. 2,400
in Epoecium Diogenis.'
'Cesmuchis.
Thonis son of Chaeremon dr. 1,200.'

'Total tal. 12(?) dr. 1,400.
Tal. . . . dr. 4,800.'

1 Lucius the systates is the signatory of a capitation receipt of AD 301/2 (PSI III 163), which is the date tentatively suggested for **3787**, see introd. In XXII **2338** introd. there appears *Λουκ[ίο(υ)] συστάτο[υ] Δρό(μου) Θοή(ριδος)*—see BL IV 65; *ZPE* 18 (1975) 201. With the advantage of a microscope *Λουκίο[υ]* seems sure. The latest year referred to in **2338** (line 84) is 5 Diocletian = AD 288/9, in or after which **2338** must have been written. The main hand of **2338**, which is not that of the short annotation in which the systates appears, seems to be the same as that of **3787**; note also that the phonetic spelling *Πτολαιμαίου* = *Πτολεμαίου* occurs in **2338** 25, 88 as well as in **3787** 6. Finally, in PSI III 164 of AD 287 there appears a Lucius Septimius Serenus systates, who is presumably the same. This cluster of dates, AD 287 to 301/2, has been used in argument for the dating of **3787**, see introd. above.

2 On the basis of line 3 (*Θεωνᾶτος*) perhaps restore *Θ[ε]ωνᾶς*, which would fit if the theta were large.

3 *Τεεργάϊ*. This place-name is unknown and in view of the damage to the surface the reading is no more than a suggestion. It was presumably a small place in the neighbourhood of Dositheu. These more precise indications of locality inside the village sections rather suggest that the persons were actually to be found there, not merely registered as belonging to the village; cf. 39, 65; see introd.

4 .ν. This may have been *ἐν*, i.e. the beginning of a note giving a more precise location, cf. 3, 39, 65. If so, it was abandoned. Palaeographically *αμ* might be better, but that is incomprehensible.

6 The placing of the personal name suggests that a place-name occupied the beginning of the line.

/(δρ.) *Ac*. The oblique stroke here and frequently hereafter is not a check mark, since it is ligatured to the drachma sign and was obviously not written later. It might be expanded (*γίνονται*) = 'total', but no difference seems to be intended between entries with and without it.

7 If]ζε. . [really is the beginning of the place-name, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 162-77, for the many possibilities.

8 *Ὀ]λβανὸς Ὀλβανοῦ*. For the son Albanus and Silvanus are less likely possibilities.

9 *Πουρῶ*. This form, probably from nominative *Πουρώς*, is new, though several names beginning *Πουρ-* can be found in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, and D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

11 The only known possibility is *Τριγήου Νοτίνου*, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 208, but *Ν]οτίνου* here would not be very satisfactory and this name itself is doubtfully read in its only occurrence.

12]. . These confused traces are cramped for space between 11 and 13, but they do not seem to belong to either. Since there is no corresponding payment, they should be part of the place-name or some subsidiary annotation.

13 *λεχό(μενος)*. Cf. BGU I 277 ii 6 *Πετεῦρις ἐπικαλού(μενος) Τέκτων*; BGU IX 1900.78 *Κισδὶς ἀπ(άτωρ) ἐπ(ικαλούμενος) Τέκτων*.

14 Read *Ἀν[δρ]έᾳ*? Space is short for [δρ], but -ᾳ looks convincing. For gen. *Ἀνδρέα* cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii, 13.

15 *Κεγύρεως* probably fits best, but *Κέννεως* is not excluded.

18 The low payment suggests that we might have only one person here with an alias, but there are no other examples of *ὁ καί* in this list and it would be easier to read e.g.]. *ρις καί*.

20 *Εὐτρόπις* (= -πιος). Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii, 25-6.

21 Read perhaps *Παπίῳνος*.

22 The village name was crowded into the margin after the main entry had been written. It may apply to Pinution only or to the whole of the section 22-9.

23 *Ἀνικήτης*. This unique form may be a mere mistake for the common *Ἀνίκητος*. It might be argued that it is an echo of the title *νικητής*, equivalent to Latin *uictor* or *triumphator*, taken by Constantine after his defeat of Licinius, see T. D. Barnes, *New Empire*, 24. However, this would tend to put the text in AD 324 or later, which is contrary to all the chronological indications mentioned in the introduction.

σκελλός, 'crook-legged' or 'bandy-legged', may be a nickname rather than a description only. It is new in the papyri.

The drachma sign is omitted.

24-5 *διάκων ἐκκλησίας*. See introd. On the form of the title, *διάκων* and *διάκονος*, see J. D. Thomas, *ZPE* 6 (1970) 178. The papyrus discussed there has been fully edited by Z. Borkowski, *Une description topographique des immeubles à Panopolis*.

30 *Ἐποικ(ίου) Σαραπίου*. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 161. There is only one other text, see *ZPE* 25 (1977) 177, lines 12, 18. The place presumably takes its name from a shrine of Sarapis, i.e. *Σαραπίου* = *Σαραπιείου*.

35 The given sum of tal. 6 dr. 600 (= dr. 36,600) is dr. 5,600 short of the apparent total of dr. 42,200 (= tal. 7 dr. 200).

36 This line is written upside down in the lower margin, which means that it is the same way up as **3184**(*a*) and is most probably to be regarded as an endorsement on that document. However, the village referred to there is Muchintale, and the only obvious connection is that both this and Iseum Tryphonis were in the Lower toparchy, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, s.vv. The small cursive hand is not easily identifiable with any of the others on the sheet.

38 *Ἀτῆϲις* is probably a phonetically spelt variant of *Ἀτῖϲις*.

39 *ἐν ἐποικ(ίῳ) Ἰϲιδώ(ρου)*. This place is not in P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*. It was presumably small and in the neighbourhood of Seneceleu, cf. 3, 65 nn. On the nature of an *ἐποίκιον* see M. Lewuillon-Blume, *Actes du XVe congrès international* iv (Pap. Brux. 19) pp. 177-85, esp. 178-9; 191 n. 7; M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite*, 41-2.

44 *Θε[ό]δ[ωροϲ* would suit, but the remains are scanty. The last letter or sign is raised rather as in 13 *λεχῶ└* = *λεχό(μενος)*. The entry seems rather long for name and patronymic only. There may also be a note of a subsidiary location or some other description.

45 *Τα*[. . . . .]. . The possibilities are many, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 187-99.

46 See F. Dornseiff-B. Hansen, *Rückl. Wb. d. gr. Eigennamen*, 212-13 for many possible patronymics.

47 *Πρ[co]ντόπ[εως*. The more frequent spelling is *Ποσομπ-*, but *Ποσοντπ-* occurs in P. Mich. X 602.9–10, as corrected in P. Oxy. XLVI p. xv (*ad* XXIV **2422**).

55 *Μαρίας*. In view of the deacon and reader (24–5, 56–7) there seems good reason to suppose that the name here is that of a Christian, cf. H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 22 (1976) 63.

56–7 Cf. introd.

58 *παράδοξ[ο]ς*. On this title of athletes and musicians see R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 14 (1974) 94–5; note the reserve of L. Robert, *REG* 87 (1974) 286–7, No. 534. Another bearer of it appears in connection with the *ἐπικεφάλαιον* in P. Oxy. Hels. 28.3–4, *διὰ Θέωνος παραδόξου* (not 'son of Paradoxus'!). What exactly *διά* means in this context is not clear to me.

63 *Θεανοῦ* seems to be a new genitive of *Θεανώ*, which was subject to some fluctuation, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii, 87.

65 The *ἐποίκιον Διογένους* is unknown to P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*. The placing suggests that the note was added to refer back to 64, although it was written before 66. The place was presumably a small one in the vicinity of Tampetei, cf. 3, 39 nn.

68–9 The figures are damaged, but again they appear irreconcilable with the calculations, cf. 35 n. The total of col. ii (37–67) by calculation is dr. 39,200 (= tal. 6 dr. 3,200) and it is clear that this figure was not written in either 68 or 69.

Line 68 shows a sum of over ten talents, probably tal. 12 dr. 1,400, which is of the right order of magnitude to be a sum total of both columns, but is not correct. The correct total by calculation would be tal. 13 dr. 3,400 (tal. 7 dr. 200 + tal. 6 dr. 3,200). The given total in 68 is also not the sum of the incorrect figure given in 35, tal. 6 dr. 600, and the calculated total of 37–67, i.e. tal. 6 dr. 3,200, which would be tal. 12 dr. 3,800.

In 69 the figure for drachmas is 4,800, the figure for talents is damaged. The wide extent of the traces suggests a figure of two digits, but the left side is not obviously ι = 10, so that it is not clear whether this is a column total or another sum total. Tal. 6 (ς) is not an impossible reading, but this too does not give a coherent calculation, i.e. tal. 6 dr. 600 (35) plus tal. 6 dr. 4,800 (69?) does not give a total of tal. 12 dr. 1,400 (68), but one of tal. 12 dr. 5,400.

3788. Official Letter

41 5B.86/B(3)a 17 × 26 cm 17 April 309

This dated document was mentioned under its inventory number in XLVI **3307** introduction, as possibly affording a tenuous clue to the date of that item. It is a notice from a *νομικάριος* of the nome to the *praepositus* of the eighth *pagus* that he should make one of the villages in his *pagus* take its turn to supply a camel-driver for compulsory service with camels being dispatched to the imperial palace in Memphis. This interesting building was not known before, see 4 n. The addition of *νομοῦ* to the puzzling title of *νομικάριος* adds a little to what was known about it, see 2 n. For a recent short survey of the requisition of camels in the papyri see P. Petaus 85 introd.

The writing, which in the main text is a rapid, elegant, sloping cursive written with a thin nib, runs along the fibres of the recto. A sheet-join can be seen less than half a centimetre from the left edge. It is made in the way described in L **3624–6** introduction, p. 61, so as to have only three layers of fibres. The overlap is from the reader's right to left, which means that the clerk turned the sheet through 180° after

it had been cut from the roll, see LI **3591** introd. The lines begin a couple of centimetres to the right of the join. The back is blank.

Αὐρηλίῳ Διδύμῳ Διδύμου πραι(ποσίτῳ) η πάγου
Αὐρήλιος Δίδυμος νομικάριος νομοῦ χαίρειν.
καμηλατῶν ζητουμένων καμήλων ἀποστελλο-
μένων ἐπὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Μεμφιτῶν πόλι ἱερὸν παλάτιον,
ἀναγ]καίως ἐπιστέλλω σοι, φίλτατε, ὅπως
τ[ο]ὺς ἀπὸ κώμης Τήεως κατὰ στῦχον παρας⟦. ⟧χεῖν
καμηλάτην ποιήσῃς. (vac.)
(vac.)
ὑπατίας τῷν [δεσποτ]ῶν ἡμῶν
Ο[ὐα]λερίου (vac.) *Λικιννιανοῦ*
Λικ[ιν]νίου Σεβαστο[ῦ καὶ] Φλαυΐου Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίνου
υἱ[ο]ῦ βασιλέ[ω]ν, πρὸ ιε Καλ(ανδῶν) Μαΐων.
(vac.)
(m. 2) *Αὐρ(ήλιος) Δίδυμος νομικ(άριος) νομοῦ ἐπιδέδωκα.*

1 *πραι*) 4 l. *πόλει* 6 l. *στοῖχον* 8 l. *ὑπατείας* 10 *φλαυΐου* 11 *καλ'*
12 *αυρ', νομικ*

'To Aurelius Didymus son of Didymus, *praepositus* of the 8th *pagus*, Aurelius Didymus, *nomicarius* of the nome, greetings.'

'Since camel-drivers are needed for camels being dispatched to the imperial palace in the city of the Memphites, of necessity I write to you, my dearest colleague, so that you may make the inhabitants of the village of Tëis provide a camel-driver in their turn.'

'In the consulship of our masters Valerius Licinianus Licinius Augustus and Flavius Valerius Constantinus, son of emperors, on the 15th day before the Calends of May.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Didymus, *nomicarius* of the nome, have submitted (this document).'

1 *Διδύμῳ Διδύμου πραι(ποσίτῳ) η πάγου*. This incumbent is unknown. On *pagi* and *praepositi* see J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, 97–8, 131–4. The extent of the eighth *pagus* is best known from the lists of place-names in XLVI **3307** and XII **1448**, conveniently arranged in P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 237.

2 *νομικάριος νομοῦ*. This confirms the view of T. C. Skeat, P. Beatty Panop. 1.252 n., that the office relates to the nome, and supports his suggestion that the title is actually derived from *νομός* rather than *νόμος*. The function is still obscure. Here he notifies a *praepositus pagi* to see to it that a village supplies a camel-driver for compulsory service. In P. Beatty Panop. 1.252–5 (AD 298) the strategus informs the *nomicarius* that two boats (*ἀλιάδες*) are to be supplied for postal service (*ὁδοιπορίαν . . . γραμματηφόρου*), one at the expense of the sailors, another at the expense of the nome (*ἀπὸ τοῦ νομοῦ*) and of the rest of the sailors. (The text is full of difficulties, but that seems to be the gist.) Further on, in lines 385–8, the same strategus tells the same *nomicarius* that he is to estimate the cost to the nome of its two-thirds share of a levy of hides to be used in work on an army fort. The other third is to be at the cost of the city, cf. 379 n. A late third-century occurrence of the word in damaged council proceedings adds nothing more (XII **1416** 21).

In XLVIII **3390** 1 n. the editor entertains the possibility that the *νομικ(οί)* there are *νομικ(άριοι)*. They instruct a correspondent whom they regard as a colleague (*ἀδελφῷ*) to disburse money to the pastrycook (*βαστιλᾶτ(ι)* = *παστιλλᾶτι*) of a strategus (AD 358). A similar possibility exists for BGU XII 2165.3, 2166.[3?], 2169.4?, texts of the late fifth century concerned with grain transport, in which the *νομικ( )* occurs in a passage which is damaged in all three. From the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries there are several bare and unhelpful occurrences of the word in accounts and contracts (VIII **1131** [3], 17, I **136** 10, 45, 52, P. Iand. 45.1, P. Rein. II 107.6 (*νομικ( )*), XIX **2237** 5, 20, 25, XVI **2032** 9, 16, 25), but two others to *νομικάριοι καὶ πακτάριοι τοῦ ὀξέως δρόμου* (I **154** 10, XVI **2024** 10) recall P. Beatty Panop. 1.252–5, where the *ἁλιάδες* and *ὁδοιπορίαν . . . γραμματηφόρου* can be compared with the *ἁλιάδες γραμματηφόροι τοῦ ὀξέως δρόμου* of, for example, XXXIII **2675** 9–10 (AD 318), on which see LI **3623** introd. The connection with official transport is the most noticeable thread in this tangled skein.

The fact that his name and title are put in second place in the address suggests that the *νομικάριος* regarded himself as the inferior or at least not the superior official, although his message to the *praepositus* is tantamount to an order and although his sphere of action is the whole nome and not a *pagus*, of which there were ten in the Oxyrhynchite nome. We may also note that the subscription, 'I, Aurelius Didymus, *nomicarius* of the nome, have submitted (this document)', is more appropriate to an application or a report than to the official instruction that the text appears to be.

The two letters in P. Beatty Panop. 1 addressed to *Φιλοξένῳ νομικαρίῳ* (252, 385) rather suggest that there was only one in the Panopolite nome in AD 298. Two late Byzantine documents refer to a college, see above.

4 *τὸ ἐν τῇ Μεμφιτῶν πόλι* (= *-λει*) *ἱερὸν παλάτιον*. The references to *παλάτιον* in the papyri have been collected by S. Daris, *Lessico Latino*, 87. Four are sixth-century, of which three are titular references to *notarii* of the *θεῖον παλάτιον* (P. Cair. Masp. III 67320.1, P. Erl. 55.1, P. Lond. V 1679.4), and the fourth is in an encomiastic poem by Dioscorus of Aphrodito describing Justin II as *νέον υἷα πολυσκήπτρου παλλατίου* (P. Cair. Masp. II 67183 = E. Heitsch, *Die gr. Dichterfragm. d. röm. Kaiserzeit* No. xlii(1).7). However, the remaining three refer to buildings in provincial Egypt: P. Beatty Panop. 1.260 (Tripheum near Panopolis; AD 298), BGU IV 1087 i 12, iii 4 (Arsinoe; 3rd cent.), SPP XX 230.2, 4 (Hermopolis?; 4th cent.). For discussion of these and of the other evidence on the places where emperors stayed when away from their capitals see F. G. B. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 41–3. A document published later, BGU XIII 2280(a) ii 16, alludes to the one at Arsinoe in AD 276, which is the earliest date for the word in the papyri, see A. Łukaszewicz, *Les édifices publics*, 177.

This *palatium* in Memphis has not appeared before. It is tempting to speculate about the need for camels there in April, AD 309. If the camels were for imperial use, cf. BGU I 266 (= W. *Chr.* 245).6–10, the likely user would be Maximinus, the Eastern emperor, whose exact whereabouts in AD 309 are unknown, see T. D. Barnes, *New Empire*, 66. Maximinus did pay a visit to Egypt, getting as far south as Apollonopolis Ano (Edfu), see Barnes, ibid. This was probably in AD 305 or 306, since the prescript of the imperial letter which attests it, C. Just. 3.12.1, in spite of some garbling pretty clearly refers to the 'Second Tetrarchy' (AD 305–6), while the consular date clause is much more garbled and its reconstruction as equivalent to 5 November, AD 305 much more open to doubt. The *palatium* at Memphis might have been built for that visit or more probably, in view of the touristic importance of the place, for a much earlier imperial visit. The camels might equally well have been used for transport, cf. A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* ii, 768, 841, 842, 1353 n. 42, or for the haulage of heavy materials for use in building or repairing the *palatium*, cf. P. Lond. II 328 (p. 75), BGU III 762. If there had really been the prospect of an imperial visit here, we might expect the sort of explicit phrase which we find with the mention of the palace in P. Beatty Panop. 1.260 *εἰς ἔκστρωσιν παλατίου . . . πρὸς τὴν ε[ὐτυχῶς] ἐσομένην ἐπιδημίαν . . . Διοκλητιανοῦ . . . Σεβαστοῦ*, 'for (superintendence of) accommodation in (?; 'bedding of' T. C. Skeat) the palace . . . for the auspiciously impending visit of . . . Diocletian . . . Augustus'. There are many parallels, see e.g. LI **3602–5**. We should note too that the village supplies the camel-driver *κατὰ στοῖχον*, 'in turn', and this could imply that there were frequent occasions for the supply of camels to the same destination, but see 6 n.

5 *φίλτατε*. This is a standard address to an official colleague, see F. Preisigke, *WB* III p. 202.

6 *Τήεως*. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 203–4.

κατὰ στύχον (= *στοῖχον*). For the phonetic spelling see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i, 197–8. The only other occurrence of *στοῖχος* in the papyri is in VIII **1119** 12, which refers to an Antinoite who is deduced to be a resident of Oxyrhynchus but who was absent in Antinoopolis *προσευκαιροῦντα ταῖς λειτουργίαις εἰς ἃ[ϲ]*

προεχειρίϲθημεν τοῦ ϲτοίχου καταλαβόντος τὴν ἡμετέραν βουλήν, 'attending to public services to which we were appointed when the turn came round to our town council'. The editors' note observes that there seem to have been compulsory services at Antinoopolis which the nome capitals undertook in turn. So here the village has to take its turn to supply a camel-driver. This may mean that there were frequent dispatches of camels to the palace at Memphis, cf. 4 n., but perhaps it is more likely that the 'turn' applied to any occasion when camels had to be delivered to any destination.

8 *[δεϲποτ]ῶν*. For this restoration see D. Hagedorn, K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 165–77, esp. 168–9.

11 *υἱ[ο]ῦ βαϲιλέ[ω]ν*. The Latin title was *filius Augustorum* (e.g. ILS I 683). R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems*, 106, collect the references to this consular formula in the papyri. They give the standard form of the title as *υἱοῦ Αὐγούϲτων*. This actually occurs in only one papyrus, P. Panop. 15.19 (*Αγούϲτων*; *ZPE* 8 (1971) 208), which is from Panopolis in Upper Egypt. The form most frequently found is *υἱοῦ Ϲεβαϲτῶν* (add *Archiv* 27 (1980) 55.24), and it is noticeable that all these papyri are from the Arsinoite nome. (Note that the Heracleopolite P. Hib. II 219.19 is restored with this formula, whether correctly or not it is impossible to say.) So far *υἱοῦ (τῶν) βαϲιλέων* is attested only from Oxyrhynchus: add XLVI **3270** 3, cf. 28 (Maximinus and Constantine) *υἱῶν τῶν βαϲ[ιλ]έων*, to the earlier references, which are XXXIII **2667** 16, P. Berl. Leihg. I 21.15–16, P. Oslo III 86.7 (not otherwise obviously from Oxyrhynchus). There remains M. *Chr.* 196, which is from Oxyrhynchus but damaged so that the end of the consular date is reported as . . . *Κωνϲταντίνου* |[17] . . . *αϲ[.] πρὸ ϛ Νωνῶν κτλ*. It has already been suggested that we should read some version of *υἱοῦ βαϲιλέων* here (P. Berl. Leihg. I 21.13 ff. n., cf. BL III 118 from P. Oslo III 86.7 n.), but this has not yet been confirmed. See now also R. S. Bagnall *et al.*, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 153, from which it emerges that *Αγούϲτων* also occurs in P. Giss. inv. 126 recto 23 (*YCS* 28 (1985) 121); this is also from Upper Egypt.

3789. Receipt for *ἐπικεφάλαιον πόλεως*

38 3B.79/G(3–4)a 8.5 × 8 cm 27 May or 14 June 320

This receipt for city poll-tax of AD 319/20 is the latest one of its kind and affords an occasion to review and discuss the evidence, which is presented below in a revised version of the table given in XLII **3036–45** introd.

The tax was introduced under the first tetrarchy, certainly by AD 296/7, possibly earlier, see table below, item (1) n. The rate was based on a figure of 1,200 drachmas, though part payments and irregular figures occur. This rate was raised, possibly in two stages, first to dr. 1,600 and then to dr. 2,400, cf. J. M. Carrié, *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology*, 443–5.

Dr Carrié has drawn attention to Cod. Theod. 13.10.2, an imperial letter of AD 313 directed to the governor of Lycia–Pamphylia, which confirms the exemption of the *plebs urbana* from capitation *sicut in Orientalibus quoque prouinciis obseruatur* and says that it was so exempt under Diocletian. He suggested that the seeming contradiction could be resolved by taking this to refer to exemption from taxes on property held by metropolites in villages. I would prefer a different explanation. I suggest that the term *plebs urbana*, so grandly reminiscent of Rome, refers not to all the inhabitants of provincial towns, but to those comparatively few persons with full citizen rights in their local metropolis. In Oxyrhynchus that means the *ἐπικριθέντες*, those whose qualifications for Oxyrhynchite citizenship had been officially scrutinized; compare the use of the term in connection with the corn dole, P. Oxy. XL pp. 2–3.

Several of the receipts which form the bulk of the evidence for the *ἐπικεφάλαιον*

πόλεως are issued to persons identified by only a single name (XXXI **2578–9**, XXXIV **2716–17**, XLII **3040–1**). Trades are sometimes stated in the later receipts, 'rope-worker, donkey-driver, carpet-weaver', and so on. In all probability these are not full citizens but inhabitants of the city without the full rights and privileges of citizenship. The point is reinforced by **3787**, where the persons are listed by village, see introd. In addition P. Oxy. Hels. 28 is a note without an address in which one unidentified person instructs another to issue a receipt in the name of a woman (*ὀνόματος Διονυσίας Διονυσοθέωνος διὰ Θέωνος παραδόξου*) for two unnamed men 'in your farmstead' (*ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλείου ἀνδρῶν δύο ἐν τῷ ἐποικίῳ σου*). This strongly suggests that the men were dependents, probably employees, of the woman, and that she paid their capitation. The evidence, in fact, favours the view that those liable were not the citizens of Oxyrhynchus but those non-citizens who were registered as living in the town, who were probably the majority of the population.

Dr Carrié was misled by the description and partial publication of **3787** given in XLIV **3184** introd. into thinking that it attested a flat rate for town-dwellers and variable rates for villagers. The full publication shows that this is not so.

The most frequent signatory to the receipts is the systates. The only certain exception is XXXI **2579**, where Heracleides *μηνιάρχης* is a guild officer. This probably indicates payment by the guild for its members. In PSI VII 780 new readings suggest that the official was called Morion, cf. XLII **3042**, and that he was some sort of banker, see below (12) n. In several cases the signatory does not give his office, see below items (5), (8), (13), (16), (17), (19), (20). Of these, (13) has the same name as (12), where the title is probably *τρ(απεζίτης)*, see note, and (5), (8), (16) and (19) can be assigned to systatae by comparison with other items which have the title and the same name, leaving only the signatories of (17) and (20) without any title.

In this receipt the writing runs along the fibres. There is no sheet-join. The back is blank.

Table

(Items (8)*a*, (10)*a*, and (11)*a* are not receipts, but give relevant information.)

		date	*payment for*	*amount*	*no. of persons*	*signatory*
(1)	XXXIV **2717**(*a*)	294/5?	294/5?	1,200	1	Chosion systates through Heron *βοηθός*
	(*b*) —		296/7	800	1	Chosion systates
(2)	XLII **3036**	24.2.298	297/8?	1,200	1	Sarapion systates
(3)	**3037**(*a*)	4.3.298	297/8?	1,200	1	
	(*b*)	4.3.298	297/8	1,200	1	
(4)	**3038**	4.3.298	297/8	1,200	1	
(5)	XXXI **2578**	30.3.298	296/7	2,400	2	Didymus
(6)	XLII **3039**	29.5.298	296/7	1,200	1	Didymus systates
(7)	**3040**	17.12.298	296/7	1,300	1	Didymus systates through Epimachus

(8)	**3041**	14 23.6.299	297/8?	1,200	1	Sarapion
(8)*a*	XLIII **3141**	Jan. Aug. 300	299/300		1	Aurelius Sarapion systates
(9)	**3142**	26.7.301	300/1	1,200	1	unsigned
(10)	PSI III 163		301/2	1,200	1	Lucius systates
(10)*a*	**3787**		301/2?	various		Lucius systates
(11)	XXXIV **2716**		302/3	1,200	1	name lost
(11)*a*	P. Oxy. Hels. 28		303/4	2,000?	2	
(12)	PSI VII 780(*a*)	20.7.305	303/4	400	1	Morion banker(?)
	(*b*)	20.7.305	304/5	2,000	1	
(13)	XLII **3042**	1.10.306	306/7	1,600	1	Morion
(14)	XXXI **2579**	4.8.309	308/9	1,600	2	Heracleides *μηνιάρχης*
(15)	PSI IV 302	308/9	308/9	illegible	1	lost or illegible
(16)	XLII **3043**	3.9.311	311/12?	3,200	2	Aurelius Aphus and colleagues
(17)	**3044**(*a*)	·	312/13	2,400	1	Elias and colleagues
	(*b*)	—	313/14	lost	1?	lost
(18)	PSI V 462	20.8.314	314/15	2,400	1	Athenodorus systates through Severus *βοηθός*
(19)	PUG I 19	·.5/6.315?	314/15?	1,600	1	Athenodorus through Severus
(20)	XLII **3045**	314/15	315/16	2,400	1	Aurelius Politicus and colleagues
(21)	**3789**	27.5 or 14.6.320	319/20	2,400	1	Apphus systates through Horion (his) brother

Notes to Table

(1) In the introduction to **3036–45** Mr Parsons put forward the hypothesis that one member of the college of systatae was responsible for the collection of the tax for one year. This is attractive, because there is certainly some clustering of names around dates, but **2717** contradicts it. If the figure *ιᾱ* presented in ed. pr. is correct, the first payment is for the earliest year yet attested (AD 294/5), and this year is not the one preceding AD 296/7, for which the second payment is made, but the one before that. Scepticism has been expressed about the doubtful figure by Dr A. K. Bowman, *JRS* 66 (1976) 168 n. 170. Admittedly it is damaged, but the remains have every appearance of being inconsistent with *ιβ* and consistent with *ιᾱ*. Drs R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp in *ZPE* 56 (1984) 132 have suggested *ιχ* as the best reading, but this introduces an anomaly in the amount. The first payment is for dr. 1,200, the usual amount. The second payment, of dr. 800 for the same Ammon, is very unlikely to be for the same year. Therefore it seems that Chosion is concerned in the collection of this tax in two different years. Moreover, the second payment is for the same year as in items (5)–(7), where the signatory is not Chosion systates but Didymus systates.

The examination of **2717** revealed an error in the reading of line 2 which does not affect the issue. The line begins with *ὑ(πέρ)*, which was not noticed because it is severely abraded. The repetition of *ὑπέρ* occurs also in **2716** 1–2, **3044** 10–11.

(2) The date-clause gives year 14, 13, and 6, but the payment is said to be for 'the past year' 14, 13, and 6. Mr Parsons preferred to think that the mistake lay in *διελθόντος* rather than in the figures, because the systates is attested for that year, see **3036** 2f. n., cf. below (3) n.

(3) Exactly the same problem occurs as in (2). The sheet holds two receipts of the same date, each for a different person. The first payment is said to be for 'the past year' 14, 13, and 6, the following one is for 'the same year', and the date-clause again has the same figures.

(4) This receipt has the same regnal year figures and the same signatory as (2) and (3), but the payment is for 'the present year'.

(5)–(7) Cf. (1)*b*, concerning tax of the same year, and (1) n.

(7) The sum of dr. 1,300 is anomalous. It is confirmed by the figures (*δρ.*) *Ατ*, and by the words, for instead of *τρ*]*ιακοσίας* as in ed. pr. we should read *τ*]*ριακοσίας*, since the tail of the rho can be seen descending into the line below.

(8) The second digit of the day of the month is damaged, but the date is within Payni 21–9. The figures for the year for which payment is made are seriously damaged. The name of the signatory Sarapion suggests that it was for AD 297/8, cf. (2)–(4), but this is not certain, see (1) n.

(8)*a* This is a notice of death addressed to Aurelius Sarapion systates by the dead man's mother-in-law. She mentions the tax in line 17, saying that she should not be held responsible for payment on the man's behalf.

(10)*a* This is a list of taxpayers and sums of money, headed by the name of Lucius systates, see **3787**.

(11)*a* See introd. above. The sum is given in ed. pr. as (*δραχμῶν*) *'Bγ* = 2,400, but with a note directing attention to the plate and to the writing of the figure as *'B—*. In view of the various sums that appear in **3787**, including dr. 2,000 for two persons, see line 16, and dr. 2,000 for one person, see lines 17, 19, 20, 33, it may be better to regard the horizontal as merely marking the numeral for 2,000.

(12) The signature was read by Professor V. Bartoletti as *αυρ̄ μαρ ιω. ντο cεcη̄*, see XXXI **2578–9**, introd. This recalls XLII **3042** 10, *Μωρίων cεcη(μείωμαι)*, dated in the next year, AD 306/7, see note (13) below. The plate now published by R. Pintaudi, *Pap. Flor.* XII (Supplemento: Papiri . . . a Firenze, Catalogo della Mostra, 1983), Tav. XXXIV, shows that we can read *Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μωρίων* with no difficulty: *μω* is written with one arch too few, but this is a very common phenomenon in this combination, cf. **3784** 3 n. The gap between the second omega and the following nu results from a fold which the plate shows clearly. The fold was evidently closed when the text was written; it was probably opened only in modern times when the papyrus was damped out and flattened. Dr R. A. Coles has suggested to me that the following abbreviated title should be read as *τρ∫* and expanded to *τρ(απεζίτης)*. The rho, read as omicron by Professor Bartoletti, has a tiny loop and a tail which descends only a very little way before it curves back up to the top level. Compare the rho in *αυρ̄*. Although there is no parallel in the other receipts and although there is no way of telling what sort of banker Morion was, this seems a very satisfactory reading.

(13) The date of **3042** has been revised by R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Bull. Egypt. Seminar* 1 (1979) 13.

(14) The date of **2579** has been revised by Bagnall and Worp; ibid., 12.

(15) On the illegibility of PSI IV 302 see XLIII **3142** 12 n.

(16) The year for which payment is made is not stated. The Aurelius Aphus (*Ἄφοῦς*) here is presumably the same as the systates Apphus (*Ἄπφοῦς*) of **3789**, even though nearly nine years separate the documents, cf. note (1) above.

(19) For the revised date see XLV pp. xvii–xviii. A doubt is cast on the revision by the amount of dr. 1,600, which seems to relate it to (13) and (16) of AD 306 and AD 311, and this is not certainly counterbalanced by the fact that the signatory is the same as in (18), cf. notes (1) and (16) above. However, the plate in PUG I seems to favour the correction and this payment of dr. 1,600 may be regarded as a part payment on dr. 2,400 in the same ratio as dr. 800 on dr. 1,200, see (1) and cf. (14) of AD 308/9, where dr. 1,600 is for two persons. Compare too (12) where the payment of dr. 400 may well be the balance after a similar part payment. In fact, although (13) and (16) seem to support the suggestion that the rate was raised in two stages, first from 1,200 to 1,600 and then to 2,400, see introd., it could be that the rise was directly from 1,200 to 2,400 and that these were part payments too.

(20) This is the only receipt for a payment in advance. The reading *ἰcιόντοc* = *εἰcιόντοc* in line 2 has been checked and confirmed.

διεγρ(άφη) ὑ(πὲρ) ἐπικεφαλίου πόλεως
ὀγδόης ἰνδικτίονος
ἀκολούθως τοῖc κελευcτῖcι
ὀνόμ(ατος) Παύλου ἀργυρίου
5 *δρ]αχ(μὰc) διcχιλίας τετρακοcίας, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) 'Bυ.*
(ἔτους) ιδ∫'' ιβ∫ δ∫'', Παῦνι κ̄.
Ἄπφοῦc cυcτά(τηc) δι'ἐμοῦ Ὡρίωνος
ἀδελφῷ cεc(ημείωμαι).

1 διεγρ∫υ) 3. l. κελευcθεῖcι 4 ονομ∫ 5]α^{χ}, /∫'Bυ 6 ⌞ιδ∫''ιβ∫δ∫'' 7 cυcτᾱ 8 cεc^{-}

'Payment has been made for city poll-tax of the eighth indiction, in accordance with the orders, in the name of Paul, in respect of two thousand four hundred drachmas of money, total dr. 2,400. Year 14, 12, 4, Payni 20(?).'

'I, Apphus systates, through me Horion (his) brother, have signed.'

1 διεγρ(άφη). The construction διεγράφη . . . δραχμάc is the usual one in these receipts.

ἐπικεφαλίου. The spelling is often *-αίου* (or the phonetic version *-έου* XLII **3043–4**), but *-ίου* also appears in XXXIV **2716** 1, PSI VII 780.1, XLII **3042** 1 (*-αίου* ed. pr.), **3045** 2, *-είου* in P. Oxy. Hels. 28.4, XXXI **2579** 2, PSI V 462.1, PUG I 19.2. There may be a phonetic reason, see XXXI **2579** 1 n., cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i, 249–62, esp. 261–2.

2 ὀγδόης ἰνδικτίονος. Cf. 6 n.

6 14 Constantine, 12 Licinius, 4 Crispus, Constantine Caesar, and Licinius Caesar, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems*, 72, for regnal years and indiction, which denote AD 319/20.

κ^{-}. The figure is undamaged, but of the cursive form which is very much like beta. Payni 20 = 14 June, but Payni 2, which is possible, would be 27 May.

8 ἀδελφῷ. An alternative reading might be *αδελφ.′* = *ἀδελφ(οῦ)*. Perhaps we should translate it as 'colleague' rather than 'brother'. There was indeed a systates called Horion, see XLIII **3137** (294/5), P. Fuad I Univ. 13 (297/8), XLVI **3301** (300), XII **1551** (303/4), but his dates seem too remote from this.

3790. Account of Meat

4 1B.76/(l) 18.5 × 12.5 cm *c.*317/18

The fluent cursive hand and professional layout suggest that this is a fragment of an official document, a suggestion which is strengthened by the text on the back, a much more interesting account, which seems to record expenditure in money by the city, see **3791** and introduction. A sheet join is visible on this side and the writing runs along the fibres, indicating that **3790** was the first use of the papyrus, and that it would have been out of date before the back was used for **3791**. **3791**, relating to the year 317/18, was probably written sometime in AD 318. **3790** seems unlikely to be much earlier, possibly relating to the same year.

Part of the lower margin is preserved, with three entries nearly complete in col. i and beginnings of three entries, rather damaged, in col. ii. Each entry begins with a personal name, records an amount of meat in pounds, and closes with a village name followed by *αἱ* (*προκείμεναι*) sc. *λίτραι*, except that one entry continues with a breakdown of the total into three separate amounts contributed through intermediaries (9–13).

Requisitions of meat are usually connected with the *annona militaris*, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* ii 838; cf. P. Cair. Isid. pp. 11–12 on the activity of Isidorus as a collector of meat for Caranis, and P. Beatty Panop. 1. 276–331 n. on the appointment of collectors and distributors of supplies for the *annona*, including meat, on the special occasion of Diocletian's visit to Panopolis.

Unfortunately **3790** adds nothing to our information. The only peculiarity is the unexplained preponderance of women among the contributors, all three of the

principals in col. i being women. In col. ii one legible name is female, the other male. Among the intermediaries in i 10–12 one is female, one male, and the last name is unread.

col. i

. . . . .

Διοσκοροῦς χυ̣[ν(ὴ)] . . . τ̣ο̣ . [
βοΐου λί(τρ.) ρκϛ (ἡμιc.) (τεταρτ.) . [
Παλώcεω[c αἱ (προκείμεναι).
Ἄριλλα χυν̣(ὴ) Οὐαλεριανοῦ προβ(ατείου) λί(τρ.) . . [
αἳ χοιρίο̣υ̣ (vac.) [
Τήεωc αἱ (προκείμεναι).
Λολλιανὴ ἡ καὶ Πλουτίενα χοι(ρείου) λί(τρ.) κϛ (ἡμιc.)
Δωcιθέου αἱ (προκείμεναι),
ὧν
δι(ὰ) Διδύμης λί(τρ.) γ (τρίτ.)
δι(ὰ) Ἀμόϊτος καὶ κοι(νωνῶν) ⟨λί(τρ.)⟩ ιϛ (ἡμιc.)
δι(ὰ) . ε . . . . c λί(τρ.) ϛ (δίμοιρ.)
αἱ (προκείμεναι).

col. ii

. . . . .

. . . [. . . .]. [
. . . . . [
Ἀcκλαταρι̣[ο]. c. [
Cέcφθ̣[α αἱ (προκείμεναι).
Cαραπᾶc αποπ. [
προβ(ατείου) λί(τρ.) ρ̣ϙ (ἡμιc.) [
Cέcφ[θα αἱ (προκείμεναι).

1 χυ̣[ν]?, cf. 4 2 βοϊου: l. βοείου; λ̣, and so throughout; ∠d 4 χυν̣, προβ[']? cf. 19 5 l. χοιρείου 6 αἱ, and so throughout 7 l. Πλουτίαινα; χοῖ, κϛϫ' 10–12 δι' 10 γγ'' 11 κο^τ ιϛϫ' 12 ϛβ) 19 προβ'

'Dioscorūs, wife (?) of . . .
Beef: lbs.126¾ . . .
For Palosis (the aforesaid amount).'
'Arilla, wife of Valerianus. Mutton: lbs. . . .
Which (are equivalent to) pork . . .
For Tëis the aforesaid amount.'
'Lolliane alias Plutiaena. Pork: lbs.26½.
For Dositheu the aforesaid amount,
of which (there were supplied):
Through Didyme lbs. 3⅓
Through Amois and partners lbs.16½
Through . . . lbs. 6⅔
(Total): the aforesaid amount.'

'Asclatarium(?) . . .
For Sesphtha (the aforesaid amount).'
'Sarapas . . .
Mutton: lbs.190½ . . .
For Sesphtha (the aforesaid amount).'

1 χυ̣[ν(ή)]. Cf. 4 n.

4 χυν̣(ή). In spite of the damage θυ^ν = θυγατήρ is clearly not to be read. In 1 too theta is excluded and the feet of the letters suit χυ̣ very well.

4–5 Here it seems that meat assessed in mutton was actually paid in pork, or vice versa. There is no sign of writing after χοιρ(ε)ίου; either the amount was not entered or it was placed rather far to the right and so lost in the damage between the columns.

7 Lolliane alias Plutiaena occurs again in P. Osl. II 44, a papyrus with rent receipts of AD 324 and 325 delivered by her agent (προνοητής) to a tenant farmer.

13 We might expect / = (γίνονται) before αἱ (προκείμεναι). I see no trace of it, but there is some damage which could possibly have obscured it entirely.

16 We expect the nominative Ἀcκλατάριον, but the remains of the final letter look more suitable for upsilon, and the genitive for nominative in this context would not be very surprising. The next letter is clearly sigma and not gamma for γυν(ή).

18 The writing after the name looks most like αποππ[, which is very intractable either as a patronymic or as an origin. There is no sign of abbreviation which would support an interpretation as ἀπὸ π(ραιποcίτων) or the like.

3791. Official Account

4 1B.76/(l) 22 × 12.5 cm 318

Two brief and tantalizing glimpses into the machinery for the propagation of imperial portraits are offered here and in **3792**. The whole subject of imperial images has been treated recently by T. Pekáry, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft*, see also S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power*, Ch. 7 'Images', and for an ample bibliography up to about 1975 see P. Herz, 'Bibliographie zum römischen Kaiserkult', in H. Temporini, W. Haase, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* ii 16.2, 876–88 (§X. Die bildliche Darstellung des Kaisers), 888–92 (§XI. Kaiserkult und Kleinkunst). There is useful material also in G. Lahusen, *Schriftquellen zum römischen Bildnis* i (Textquellen. Von den Anfängen bis zum dritten Jahrhundert n.Chr.). The forthcoming second volume will be more strictly relevant.

Here we have an account recording one payment to a painter 'for the price of colours and painting of divine features by order of the most eminent prefects', as well as three payments for gold to a guild of goldsmiths and two other payments of which the details are lost.

The mention of an order of the praetorian prefects shows that the context is official, not private. The same thing is suggested by the payments to the goldsmiths' guild, which recall XLIII **3121**, an account of expenditure on gold for a crown to be presented to Licinius on the occasion of the birthday of his son. There the city's one-third share is emphasized and contrasted with the two-thirds share of the nome or city territory. The inventory number of **3121** is 3 1B.77/B(10)a, very similar to that of **3791**. The element '1B' refers to the first season of excavations at Oxyrhynchus, modern Bahnasa. It is no longer known what '76' and '77' indicate, but it seems reasonable to guess from them that these documents were not found very far apart. **3791** too looks like a municipal account, probably a draft or an office memorandum, since it is written in a practised official-looking cursive hand on the back of another account, this time of meat, and upside down in relation to it, see **3790**.

Here, then, we see the municipality commissioning an imperial portrait, probably from a local painter, and by this date probably based on a model distributed from imperial headquarters, according to a procedure laid down by the praetorian prefects.

Fronto tells us that there were painted portraits of Marcus Aurelius in many places, see below, and a third-century orator was entitled to praise an emperor by saying that the cities were 'full of (his) images . . ., some on painted panels, some, too, no doubt, of more precious material', see Menander Rhetor (ed. D. A. Russell, N. G. Wilson 1981) §377, p. 94: *πλήρεις εἰκόνων αἱ πόλεις, αἱ μὲν πινάκων γραπτῶν, αἱ δέ που καὶ τιμιωτέρας ὕλης*.

In Antioch in AD 387 rioters stoned panels bearing imperial portraits, see Pekáry, op. cit. 140, cf. esp. Libanius *Or.* 22.7, according to which there were many of them: *. . . βλέψαντες δὲ εἰς τὰς πολλὰς τὰς ἐν ταῖς canίσιν εἰκόνας, βλασφημίας πρὸ λίθων ἐπ'αὐτὰς ἀφέντες, ἐπὶ μὲν ταῖς ῥηγνυμέναις ἐγέλων, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἀντεχούσας ἠγανάκτουν*. Further passages, mostly late, referring to painted imperial portraits are mentioned by H. Kruse, *Studien zur offiziellen Geltung des Kaiserbildes* 34–6, 49–50; see also R. Grigg, *JRS* 69 (1979) 107 n. 1.

Most of the many versions may well have been produced through private enterprise, but the private copies will have drawn their iconography mostly from the central source by way of official copies locally made, like the one mentioned in our document.

The wording, 'for the price of . . . painting of divine features' (. . . *ζωγραφίας θείων χαρακτήρων*) gives very little detail about the representation. Of course, very few painted portraits of imperial personages exist. The single surviving panel painting represents Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla, and Geta, painted on a wooden disk 35 cm in diameter, see *ANRW* ii 16.2 942–3, K. Parlasca, *Ritratti di Mummie*

(A. Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto*, Serie B Vol. ii) no. 390, tavv. 95 6; in colour in id. et al., *El-Fayyum* (ed. F. M. Ricci) 55, G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Roman Art*, Pl. XLVIII. According to the Berlin Museum (West) it comes from Egypt, which the state of preservation corroborates. H. von Hesberg, *ANRW* loc. cit., refers to Fronto, *Ep. ad M. Caes.* 4.12.6, for the widespread presence of imperial portraits in such private establishments as shops and inns. He suggests that the small size of this one may indicate such an origin, but it seems equally possible that it had a place in some municipal building, see now also A. Łukaszewicz, *ZPE* 67 (1987) 109–10. For the history of honorary painted portraits in public buildings see H. Blanck, *Bonner Jahrb.* 168 (1968) 1–12, cf. M. Nowicka, *Archeologia* 30 (1979) 23, citing SB III 7259. 13–15 for painted portraits of Ptolemaic kings in a village temple in the Fayum.

Our payment could equally well be for a mural painting; compare the murals of the imperial cult chamber at Luxor, representing the members of the first tetrarchy as part of a decorative scheme for the whole room, see I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975) 225–51, J. G. Deckers, *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 68 (1973) 1–34, although the wording of the text would hardly cover the whole of a scheme like that one.

Unfortunately the damage to the right edge has removed the amount of the payment. We can only see that it was in talents. Even if it did survive, it would be hard to draw any conclusions at present because of the dearth of comparative material, although the daily wages of a *pictor imaginarius* are set in the Price Edict at 150 denarii, with his food (7.9). Dr Helen Whitehouse has drawn my attention to PSI VII 784 = Sel. Pap. I 178, dated by the Oxyrhynchite eras to AD 362, which orders a delivery in kind to a painter for work on a picture (*ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ εἰκόνος*). He was to get one artaba of wheat and two Cnidian jars of wine. Because the order is addressed to a steward (*προνοητής*), this is probably a private transaction. One artaba is frequently the amount of a monthly grain allowance, cf. P. Oxy. XL p. 6, which could reflect the Price Edict entry about food (*pictori imaginario ut supra* (i.e. *pasto*), [*εἰκονο*]*γράφῳ τρεφομένῳ*) and so imply a long period of work on a single picture, but this and all other guesses are hazardous. The prices of statues are well attested from some areas, see Pekáry, op. cit. 13–21.

The date of the payment, in the period 27 December, AD 317 to 25 January, AD 318, suggests the guess that the painting was prompted by the elevation of Crispus, Constantine Junior, and Licinius Junior to Caesars in the Egyptian year AD 316/17, young Licinius specifically on 1 March, AD 317, see T. D. Barnes, *New Empire* 44–5. If so, we still do not know exactly what was painted. It might have been a group of the whole imperial college, or a series of paintings of individuals, or a group or groups including imperial wives and mothers, as Julia Domna appears in the surviving tondo, to mention a few of the possibilities.

The price of gold, though no surprise, is a useful detail to be compared again with **3121**, see 5 n.

The top of one column is preserved, the foot apparently lost, although a narrow strip projecting downwards for nearly 2 cm is blank where we might expect to see remains of the next line. On the other side, where the writing is upside down in relation to this, the foot survives and the top is clearly lost (**3790**). The ends of the lines, including the sums of money, are lost, although the surviving symbols for talents show that the right edge was not far away. The papyrus is also broken on the left close to the beginnings of the lines. Traces in the left margin opposite line 8 may have come from a check mark and more of these may have been lost elsewhere. Here the writing runs across the fibres, and a sheet join visible on the other side, where the writing runs parallel with the fibres, shows that that was the recto, probably used first, while **3791** was probably written as a draft or memorandum on its back.

(ἔτους) ι]β´ ´ ιʃ´ ´ βʃ´ ´
T]ῦβι. Ἀρτεμιδώρῳ ζωγράφῳ ὑ(πὲρ) τι(μῆς) χρωμάτων καὶ ζωγραφίας
θείων χαρακτήρων κατὰ κέλευσιν τῶν ἐξοχωτ(άτων) ἐπάρχων (ταλ.)[
Θώθ. τῷ κοι(νῷ) τῶν χρυσοχ(όων) δι(ὰ) (m. 2) Σαραπᾶ καὶ Ἄμμωνος καὶ
Δημαίου κα[ὶ [
(m. 1) ὑ(πὲρ) τι(μῆς) χρυσοῦ (οὐγκιῶν) ια γρ(αμμάτων) η (διμοίρου) ἐκ
(ταλάντων) κϛ (vac.) (ταλ.) .[
Φαῶφι. τῷ κοι(νῷ) τῶν χρυσοχ(όων) δι(ὰ) (m. 2) Σαραπᾶ κ[α]ὶ Ἄμμωνος
καὶ Δημαί[ο]υ κα[ὶ . . . .[
(m. 1) ὑ(πὲρ) (οὐγκιῶν) ια γρ(αμμάτων) η (διμοίρου) ἐκ (ταλάντων)
κϛ[(vac.)?] (vac.) (ταλ.) [
]. Μεχείρ. τῷ κοι(νῷ) τῶν χρυσο (m. 2) χόω[ν *c.*10 letters κ]αὶ
Διοσκουρί[δου] . . . . .[
(m. 1) ὑ(πὲρ) (οὐγκιῶν) γ γρ(αμμάτων) ιθ (τρίτου) ἐκ (ταλάντων) [κϛ?
Παχὼν ιʹ (ἔτους) ´ ´ ´ διὰ Ζωΐλου [
Φαμενώθ. τῷ κοι(νῷ) τ[ῶν
] (vvv.) [

2 υ)τ⁺ 3 εξοχωτ´; ε of ἐπάρχων corr. from α? 4 κο⁺, and so throughout, χρυσοχ´δι´; l. Δημέου 5 υ)τ⁺, ⟦ϖ⟧ιαγρβηβ) 6 χρυσοχ´δι´; l. Δημέου 7 υ)⟦ϖ⟧ιαγρβηβ) 9 υ)⟦ϖ⟧γγρβιθγ´ ´ 10 ιαʃ´ ´ ´, ζωϊλου

'Year 12,10,2.'

'Tybi. To Artemidorus, painter, for the price of colours and painting of divine features by order of the most eminent prefects Tal. . . .'

'Thoth. To the guild of goldsmiths by agency of (2nd hand) Sarapas and Ammon and Demeas and (?) . . . (1st hand) for the price of 11 oz. 8⅝ gr. at tal.26 Tal. . . .'

'Phaophi. To the guild of goldsmiths by agency of (2nd hand) Sarapas and Ammon and Demeas and . . . (1st hand) for 11 oz. 8⅝ gr. at tal.26 Tal. . . .'

'Mecheir. To the guild of gold(2nd hand)smiths (by agency of) . . . Dioscurides . . . (1st hand) for 3 oz. 19⅛ gr. at tal. . . .'

'Pachon, 11th year. By agency of Zoilus . . .'

'Phamenoth. To the guild of . . .'

1 (ἔτους) ι]β´ ´ ιʃ´ ´ βʃ´ ´, i.e. year 12 of Constantine, 10 of Licinius, 2 of the Caesars Crispus, Constantine Junior and Licinius Junior = AD 317/18, see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt* 39. The traces of the damaged figure match the following beta very well and do not match the curved strokes standing after the second and third figures. Nor do they suit κ; year 20,10,2 would be AD 325/6, see Bagnall and Worp, op. cit. 40. This is reinforced by the interlinear addition in line 10, which assigns Pachon to year 11. Year 11 makes sense as referring back to AD 316/17 using the regnal year of the senior emperor only, whereas it would make no sense to refer forward to AD 326/7 (year 21,11,3) by the middle figure only. Since this was a period of inflation, we can also use the price of gold as a check; the similar price in XLIII **3121** of *c.*AD 316–18 confirms the date here, see 5 n. The latest month mentioned is Phamenoth (11), i.e. 25.ii.–26.iii.318, but it may well be that the account when complete covered the whole of the Egyptian year. If so, it was probably compiled shortly after the end of it, that is, after 28 August, AD 318.

2 *T*]ῦβι, i.e. 27.xii.317 to 25.i.318. See introd. for the possible significance of the date for the imperial portraiture.

Artemidorus the painter remains unidentified. He is quite likely to have been a local man and unlikely to have seen the subject or subjects, cf. G. M. A. Hanfmann, *Roman Art*, Pl. XLVIII (commentary), especially if the subjects included the Caesars who were infants, Constantine Junior and Licinius Junior.

For the arrival of imperial likenesses in remote places see S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power* 173 6, T. Pekáry, op. cit. 112, referring especially to *IGR* III 481 = *ILS* ii.2 8870 (Termessus Minor) where a Roman official was honoured on the day of the arrival of an imperial image: τῇ πρὸ ϵ´ εἰδ(ῶν) Νοεμβρίω[ν], ἐν ᾗ [ἡ]μέρᾳ ἐκομίϲθη [ϵ]ἰκὼν ἱερὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Οὐαλεριανοῦ νέου Ϲεβαϲτοῦ. Price (p. 175) and Pekáry translate 'Valerian, new Sebastos' and 'Valerianus, des neuen Augustus', but Dessau's suggestion that this is the Caesar, Valerian Junior, seems likely to be right, so that we should translate 'Valerian Junior, Sebastos'. It also seems the most likely of the three possibilities that] Οὐαλεριανοῦ τοῦ πρεϲβυτέρ[ου in the fragmentary XLII **3029** does actually refer to Valerian Augustus as the elder of the two Valerians, although the other two possibilities suggested in Mr Parsons' note cannot be definitely excluded, i.e. Valerian the senior Augustus (compared with Gallienus) or Valerian Caesar as elder son of Gallienus (compared with Saloninus). The title νέος Ϲεβαϲτός was given to Tiberius alone, so far as I am aware, see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures* 28, and to take it as 'the new(est) Augustus' is not justified by any parallel known to me. Pekáry objects that Valerian Caesar did not have the title Augustus, but in the papyrus date clauses Ϲεβαϲτῶν always occurs at the end of the titulature, linking him in this respect with Valerian and Gallienus, see Bureth, op. cit. 118–19 (where Valerian Caesar and Saloninus are confused), cf. C. Zaccaria, *Sodalitas. Scritti . . . A. Guarini* ii 701, 704. The day, therefore, is probably 9 November, AD 256 (not 253), which is entirely consistent with the papyrus evidence for the date of his appearance in the titulatures, cf. J. R. Rea, *Atti XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, Vol. iii 1125, in the month of Phaophi, i.e. 28.ix.–27.x.256. (Unfortunately I missed this inscription in that place.) It seems quite likely that news of Valerian Caesar's accession reached Egypt at least as soon as it reached Termessus Minor (Lycia), if we only had texts to prove it. It was not known at Oxyrhynchus by 29.viii.256 (XXXIV **2714**). The accession itself will not be much later than mid-October and not much earlier than the end of July, if we assume that the news would take, very roughly, about a month to travel from Rome to either Termessus or Oxyrhynchus.

For references to painting in the papyri see M. Nowicka, 'La peinture dans les papyrus', *Archeologia* 30 (1979) 21–8. For surviving panels from Egypt see K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler*, id. *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, Serie B, Voll. i–iii.

3 *θείων χαρακτήρων*. Cf. *OGIS* ii 508 = *I. Ephesos* Ia 25.11–14 (Pius to an Ephesian notable about silver *εἰκόνες*) *τὰς . . . εἰκόνας τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων . . . παλαιάς . . . πάσας δοκιμάζομεν φυλαχθῆναι τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἐφ'ο[ἷς] γέγονεν αὐτῶν ἑκάστη, εἰς δὲ ἡμετέρους χαρακτῆρας μηδέν τι τῆς ὕλης ἐκείνης [μ]εταφέρειν*. This probably refers especially to the features of the face, see *LSJ* s.v. *χαρακτήρ* ii (3). In *IG* v (2) 268.24 *μέχρι τῶν Cεβαστείων εὐπλόησεν χαρακτήρων* appears to mean 'he made a prosperous voyage to the imperial presence'. The implication seems to be that as ambassador of his city the honorand encountered the emperor *κατ'ὄψιν*, 'face to face', so that this reference in *LSJ* s.v. ii (6) might be better placed under ii (3). The Latin glossaries twice equate *χαρακτήρ* with *uultus*, CGL ii 475.26; 543.18. Constantine Porphyrogenitus and other late writers (G. W. H. Lampe, *PGL* s.v. *χαρακτήρ*, 2) actually use the singular to mean a portrait: *Μνθεμίου τὸν χαρακτῆρα* and *τὸν αὐτὸν χαρακτῆρα* (Const. Porph., *De caerimoniis*, pp. 395 f., quoted by P. Bruun, *Studia . . . P. Krarup* 130 n. 23). This refers to a portrait of Anthemius sent to Leo I in AD 467, but was written in the tenth century. Such a usage cannot be thought likely for a text as early as our papyrus, so that its wording gives no clue to the number of paintings or of persons represented, although the singular appears to be used to mean 'face' in P. Lond. VI 1927.48, of the middle of the fourth century AD. In the fragments of John Chrysostom quoted by H. Kruse, *Studien zur offiziellen Geltung des Kaiserbildes* 35 n. 2, 36 n. 1, imperial portraits are under discussion, but *χαρακτήρ*, in the singular, could mean either 'portrait' or 'face', and the latter seems more appropriate to the contexts: *οὐ canίδα τιμῶντες . . . ἀλλὰ τὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ βασιλέως*; *οὐ πρὸς τὴν canίδα* (or *πρὸς τὰς εἰκόνας*) *βλέποντες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν χ. τοῦ β*. In the clause *ὅταν βασιλικοὶ χαρακτῆρες καὶ εἰκόνες εἰς πόλιν εἰcφέρωνται* (35 n. 2), obviously portraits are alluded to, but this does not authorize us to take *θείων χαρακτήρων* as certainly implying two or more individual portraits of members of the imperial family.

In the papyri the *θεῖοι χαρακτῆρες* have appeared regularly in Byzantine deeds of surety, in which the guarantor promises, if required, to produce another person in a public place *ἐκτὸς ἁγίων περιβόλων καὶ θείων χαρακτήρων*, 'remote from holy precincts and imperial portraits', i.e. away from places where he might claim asylum, cf. Pekáry, op. cit. 130–1, Price, op. cit. 192–3. The references known to me are SB VI 9152 (17.vi.492).16, CPR V 17 (*c.*492?).13–14 (my translation was wrong, and in 13 restore *ἐκτὸς ἁγίων* (not *πάντων*) *περιβόλων*), PSI VIII 932 (518–27).12, P. Cair. Masp. III 67328 (5–14.vii.521) i 15, ii 14, iii 18, iv 19–20, v 18, vi 17, vii 16, viii 14, ix 19, x 18, xi 19, xii 18, 67334 (527–65).11, 67296–7 (both 23.vii.535).9–10, P. Flor. III 284 (28.ix.538).11, XIX **2238** (7.viii.551).16, P. Strassb. I 46.20; 47.22, 45; 48.17; 49.26; 50.4 (all probably 17.iii.566), BGU I 255 (15.v.599).8. The older commentaries take these images to be Christian icons, see especially F. Preisigke in P. Strassb. I 46 introd., so that the older references appear in WB III Abschn. 21 (Christlicher Kultus) s.v. *χαρακτήρ*. WB Suppl. does not follow its predecessor in this practice, but I have found no reference to a correction of the old view. It seems clear that *θείων* in these passages has its usual connotation: 'divine' = imperial.

The phrase also occurs in P. Cair. Masp. I 67089 (sixth cent.) recto D.1. This seems to be part of a writing exercise or other random jotting: *μηδέ[ν]α δὲ ἔλκ[εc]θαι τῶν θείων χαρ[α]κτήρων βίᾳ κτλ.*, 'no-one is to be dragged off(?) in violation of the imperial portraits'. Again the right of asylum is under discussion.

The Greek words recall the Latin expression *sacri uultus* in C. Theod. 13.4.4, of AD 374, which orders that freeborn painters (*picturae professores, si modo ingenui sunt*) shall not be compelled to make imperial portraits (*ad efficiendos sacros uultus*) without pay. There are several other interesting provisions in this imperial letter, see A. Burford, *Craftsmen in Greek and Roman Society* 151. *Sacri uultus* occurs again in C. Just. 12.63.1 = C. Theod. 8.11.4; it obviously refers to imperial likenesses, but in a general way, not necessarily to painted portraits.

Note that *pictores* are among the craftsmen exempted from compulsory public services by C. Theod. 13.4.2 (AD 337). Compare the gravestone of Aurelius Felicianus, *pinctor Augustorum siue omnium bonorum* [*ui*]*rorum*, set up by his daughter, who has the characteristically Egyptian name of *Origenia*, although the inscription is from Clusium (CIL XI 7126). The date is probably later than the *constitutio Antoniniana*, because of the *nomen*; it could easily be fourth century.

κατὰ κέλευcιν τῶν ἐξοχωτ(άτων) ἐπάρχων. The praetorian prefects at this date were, it seems, Petronius Annianus, who had been consul in AD 314 and was strictly speaking a *uir clarissimus* rather than *eminentissimus*, cf. *ILS* III (2).8938, *I. Ephesos* II 312, and Julius Julianus, see T. D. Barnes, *New Empire* 128–9. Annianus served Constantine and Julianus served Licinius.

It is interesting to see an order from such a high-ranking source for painted portraiture, which was cheaper and less well thought of than sculpture, see H. Blanck, *Bonner Jahrb.* 168 (1968) 8–9; add Menander Rhetor, quoted above in introduction, and Libanius, *Or.* 22.8 *ἔπειθ'ἡγούμενοι τὰc ἐν τῷ χαλκῷ τιμιωτέρας . . .* (sc. *τῶν ἐν ταῖc canίcιν*, cf. 22.7). The order indicates that this was an official commission and supports the guess that it arose out of the elevation of Crispus, Constantine Junior, and Licinius Junior to be Caesars in this year, see introduction. We can legitimately suppose that many towns like Oxyrhynchus were commissioning similar portraits at the same time, and the mention of a plurality of prefects suggests that the order applied to the whole of the empire, not just to the East under Licinius, although this might be a mere matter of diplomatic form.

The ink is confused at the beginning of *ἐπάρχων*. The likeliest explanation is that the clerk started to write *ἐξοχωτάτων* in full and then, because space was running short, pulled himself up while writing the alpha and corrected it to epsilon, adding an oblique stroke above to abbreviate to *εξοχωτ´*.

4 *Θώθ*. This introduces the problem of the order of the entries. Thoth is the first month of the Egyptian year, Tybi (2) the fifth, Phaophi (6) the second, Mecheir (8) the sixth, Pachon (10) the ninth, and Phamenoth (11) the seventh. If, therefore, the entries were in chronological order, at least three years would have to be represented, Tybi of AD 317/18, Thoth, Phaophi, Mecheir, Pachon of (e.g.) AD 318/19, and Phamenoth of (e.g.) AD 319/20. In fact, the interlinear addition in 10 tells us that Pachon belonged to AD 316/17, year 11 (of Constantine, see 1 n.), so that it seems best to assume that all others belong to the year specified in the heading, AD 317/18, the order being confused probably because the account was compiled from separate documents, such as receipts. This entry is for 29 August to 27 September, AD 317.

The names of the representatives of the guild have been added in a second hand here and in 6 and 8. There were probably no more than four, since the talent signs in 3, 5, and 7 indicate that the end of the line was not far away. The first three were the same in successive months, Thoth and Phaophi (29.viii.–27.ix. and 28.ix.–27.x.317). In Mecheir (26.i.–24.ii.318) the only legible name is not one of those recognizable in the earlier entries (8). A goldsmith called Sarapas, who could be the same man as here in 4 and 6, occurs in XLIII **3120** 2, 14, of AD 310.

5 *ἐκ (ταλάντων) κc*. Cf. 7 (and 9?). Comparison with XLIII **3121** of *c.*AD 316–18, where the price of gold can be calculated at 1 tal. per gram = 24 tal. per oz. = 288 tal. per lb., indicates that the price here was $1\frac{1}{8}$ tal. per gram = 26 tal. per oz. = 312 tal. per lb. The transactions appear to be comparable. In both cases it looks as if the municipality is buying gold from the guild of goldsmiths. Unfortunately we do not learn the reason here; in **3121** the gold was for a crown to be presented to Licinius. Since we have the weights and the rate, we ought to be able to calculate the figures which should be restored at the ends of lines 5 and 7, and perhaps of 9, if the rate remained the same. Unfortunately the calculations work out to odd fractions of a denarius and we cannot be quite sure how they were rounded out. The exact figures would be tal. 295 den. $583\frac{1}{3}$ in lines 5 and 7, and tal. 98 den. $1416\frac{2}{3}$ in line 9, if the rate remained the same. These figures involving thirds may indicate that the weights and sums again, as in **3121**, represent the city's one-third share of a government levy that fell on the city and the nome in the proportion 1 : 2.

In this period of rapid inflation there is a great temptation to argue that the lower price of gold in **3121** indicates that it is earlier than AD 317/18. This tends to confirm the argument in **3121** introduction that the most likely occasions for the presentation of that crown are the first and second birthdays of Licinius Junior in AD 316 and 317.

6 *Φαῶφι* = 28.ix.–27.x.317; cf. 4 n. At the end of the line a possible reading might be *ιρηλ[*, e.g. *Ἰρηλ[ίου* or *Ἰρηλ[ιανοῦ*.

8 *Μεχείρ* = 26.i.–24.ii.318; cf. 4 n. The traces in the margin are very slight and at the level of the feet of the letters. They could be part of a check mark. Check marks at a similar distance from the other month names could well have been lost.

It appears that *-χοων* has been written heavily over fainter remains underneath, which do not seem exactly the same as the *χρυcοχ´* of lines 4 and 6, although they are not much more extensive and must have meant much the same.

A goldsmith called Dioscurides occurs in a private letter which could be of about this date, see XXXIV **2727** 23–4.

After *Διοcκουρί[δου]* we expect next *καὶ*, which I cannot pick out.

9 Cf. 5 n. for a possible calculation of the figures.

10 *Παχὼν ιαˊ (ἔτους) ´´ ´* = 26.iv.–25.v.317; cf. 4 n. See 1 n. for the significance of the 11th year.

The other entries have a dative after the date and it is unexpected to find an intermediary named first.

Ζωΐλου. The diaeresis is in the form of a short horizontal line with a small downward serif on the right end, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 205 n. 1.

11 *Φαμενώθ* = 25.ii.–26.iii.318; cf. 4 n. Obviously this could be another entry for gold as in 4, 6, and 8. We would expect to see traces of line 12 below, cf. introduction last paragraph. It may have been more indented than 5, 7, and 9, but no conclusions can be drawn at present.

3792. Account of Wax

28 4B.60/E(8)a 18 × 23.5 cm Fourth century

This is an account for a government levy of wax on a village in the south of the Oxyrhynchite nome. Since we know rather little about these levies, see 1 n., this is interesting in itself, but more eye-catching is the entry which records that forty-six minas of the wax were destined 'for images of the Augusti' (*καὶ εἰς ἰκόνια τῶν Σεβαστῶν* 19). For imperial portraiture in general cf. **3791** introduction. We can only speculate how precisely the wax was put to use, see 19 n. Of several known possibilities connected with modelling, painting, and sculpture, perhaps the likeliest guess is that it was for casting bronze statues by the lost wax process.

The origin and purpose of the account are not clear. It was found at Oxyrhynchus, not at the village of Chysis, to which it relates, and the hand looks professional, but the transport and other expenses connected with the wax were to be shared, and the writer was interested only in 'our' share, *τὸ καθ'ἡμᾶς μέρος* (24, 25–6). This suggests that the account did not originate from an office of the central government, such as the *λογιστήριον*. It may rather derive from someone who was employed on the collection of the wax, possibly from a town councillor who had been appointed to it as a compulsory public service or from a subordinate employed on the same business. We can compare XLVIII **3412**, a letter from a *praepositus pagi*, who was appointed to that office compulsorily, to his assistant about the collection of wax.

The date can be judged from the handwriting, which is a competent but rapid cursive suggesting the early fourth century. If the *ἡγούμενος* of 25 is a *praeses*, this term would favour the period of the existence of the province of Herculia, AD 315–24, but there are other possible meanings, see 25 n.

The piece of papyrus was cut from a roll in the usual way, as shown by a sheet-join close to the left edge. The back is blank except for some blots. The edges are substantially complete, but there is some minor damage as well as two large holes particularly affecting lines 6–16 and the beginnings of 28–32.

col. i

λ]όχ[ος] κηρρῷ εἰς τὸ κατὰ τὴν Χῦσιν.
Ἱππέας [.]. . Ἀπ̣ολλωνίου μν(αῖ) λ
Μορφοῦς (vac.) μν(αῖ) κε
Σαραπίων Σαρμάτης μν(αῖ) κβ
Πανάρης ἀδελφός] μν(αῖ) κβ
Εὐτόνι[ος c.10 letters] μν(αῖ) ιε
Οὐϊστινία (vac.) [μ]ν(αῖ) ιε
Στέφανο[ς] . . [c.5] μν(αῖ) ιβ
Σαραπίων . [c.10]μν(αῖ) ς
Χαιρήμων κ. [c.10 μ]ν(αῖ) ιγ
Πρόκλος (v.)[ ]μν(αῖ) ιβ
Μέλας α. [.]. . . ης μν(αῖ) ιγ
Πατνάχθη[ς c.10] μν(αῖ) ιγ
Πολυδεύκης . [c.10] μν(αῖ) δ
Κοκκηείου [. . .] μν(αῖ) ς
Σαρᾶς Πτολεμαί[ου] μν(αῖ) ιγ
Πεκύλλος (vac.) μν(αῖ) ιγ
(γίνονται) ∟ μν(αῖ) σλδ, λοι(παὶ) μν(αῖ) ς,
καὶ εἰς ἰκόνια τῶν Σεβαστῶν μν(αῖ) μς,
(γίνονται) μν(αῖ) νβ εἰς ἄνδρ(ας) ιε¯ χωρὶς Πεκύλλου
ὡς αἱρεῖν ἑκάστῳ μν(ᾶς) γ (ἥμισυ).
ἀργυρικ(ῶν) ἀνα(λώματος) ὁμοί(ως) καταγωγῆς τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) κηροῦ ἀπὸ (ταλάντων) γ τὸ καθ'ἡμᾶς μέρ(ος) (ταλ.) α (δρ.) Ͱc
ἡγουμένῳ ὑ(πὲρ) ἐπιστολῆς εἰς τὸ καθ'ἡ-μᾶς μέρ(ος) μέλιτος κε(ραμίου) α¯ (δρ.) Ͱc
τῷ α(ὐτῷ) ὑ(πὲρ) ἑορτικ(ῶν) κε(ραμίου) α¯ (δρ.) Ͱc

2 μν¯, and so throughout 7 ουϊστινια 15 l. Κοκκηΐιος 18 /∟, λοι) 19 l. εἰκόνια
20 /, ανδρ´ 22 γ∫´ 23 αργυρι^{κ}ανα¯ομο^{ε}, α¯ 24 απο ⊏ γ, μερ´⊏ α∫ 25 υ)
26 μερ´, κε^{ε}, ∫ = (δραχμαί) 27 α¯υ)εορτι^{κ}κε^{ε}, ∫

col. ii

[. . . c]τρατηγοῦ ὑ(πὲρ) εἰcαγωγῆc
[. . . .]. π( ) μοτυλωνα (δρ.) υμ
[(γίνονται)?] (ταλ.) α (δρ.) ϡΔμ
ἐπι̣[κ]λώμενα εἰc μνᾶc cλδ
ὡ[c] α̣ἰ̣ρε[ῖ]ν ἑκάcτῃ μνᾷ (δραχμὰc) μγ.

28 *υ*) 29], *π′*, *f* 30 [*?*]⊏, *f* 32 *f*μγ

'Account of wax for the (share?) relating to Chysis:
Hippeas . . . Apollonius minas 30
Morphus 25
Sarapion (alias? son of?) Sarmates 22
Panares (his) brother 22
Eutonius (. . . ?) 15
Vistinia 15
Stephanus . . . 12
Sarapion . . . 6
Chaeremon . . . 13
Proclus 12
Melas . . . 13
Patnachthes (. . . ?) 13
Polydeuces (. . . ?) 4
Cocceius 6
Saras son of Ptolemy 13
Pecyllus 13
Total . . . minas 234; remainder minas 6,
'And for representations of the Augusti minas 46
Total minas 52, among 15 men not counting Pecyllus,
so that there attach to each minas 3½.'
'Money expenses likewise for the conveyance down(stream?) of the same wax, out of 3 talents, our share tal. 1 dr. 1,200
'To the *praeses*(?) in respect of a letter, to our share of 1 jar of honey dr. 1,200
'To the same in respect of a festival gift of 1 jar dr. 1,200
'. . . (of the) strategus in respect of bringing in . . . dr. 440
Total tal. 1 dr. 4,040,
distributed(?) among minas 234,
so that there attach to each mina dr. 43.'

1 λ]όγ[ος] κηροῦ would hardly be legible without τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) κηροῦ below in 23–4, but seems fairly certain in the context.

Wax in antiquity had many more uses than we are apt to remember in this age of technology and artificial substances—*mille ad usus uitae*, says Pliny, *NH* xi. 11; for a recent summary see R. Büll, E. Moser, *RE* Suppl. xiii (1973) 1368–1416. Clearly this is an account of wax requisitioned as a levy by the government.

From LI **3635** 9, compared with the other items in **3634–6**, we can see how in the fifth century a total weight of wax was levied on the province of Arcadia the figure is unfortunately illegible; this would have been divided among the nomes, cf. e.g. **3635** 6 8 (which concern the wool levy), and in each nome it would have been further divided among the villages, as we see here for the village of Chysis and for an earlier period. We do not know how the nome capitals would have been treated. Presumably they would have been comparatively little affected, although it is quite likely that there were bee-hives in gardens within the towns. In AD 338 there was an Oxyrhynchite guild of beekeepers described as being 'of the same city' (I.**85** 119–20: text by R. A. Coles, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 120), but there is no such phrase in LIV **3747** of AD 319, see ibid. 6 n., where, however, μελ[ιcc]ουρ[γῶν (5–6) is presented as a doubtful reading. The assessment would perhaps have depended on a census of hives, see R. D. Sullivan, *BASP* 10 (1973) 5–13. The papyrus published there refers to a registration of hives made by the petitioners in AD 15/16. The note on bee-keeping in the papyri is interesting and makes clear how sparse our evidence is.

In P. Turner 47, which I would prefer to assign to the fifth rather than fourth century, large amounts of wax occur in lines 2 and 7 among other substances, most with a medical application. The headings ἀπαίτ(ηcιc?) Διοcκουρίδου and Ἄρεοc were taken to refer to persons. In spite of P. Lips. 99, where ἀπαίτ(ηcιc) is regularly followed by a personal name, I am inclined to think that these are names of villages supplying respectively 221 and 285 pounds of wax, just as Chysis here is assessed for 286 minas (240+46: lines 18–19), cf. 18–22 n., 2 n. A village called Ἄρεωc is known in the Hermopolite nome, see M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 69–71, and in P. Lond. III 1326b, fully edited in *CE* 59 (1984) 140, there is a Hermopolite ἐποίκιον Διοcκορίδου, which might be identical with Διοcκουρίδου, although it is a small place in the territory of Δημητρίου κώμη. (The editor gives Διοcκορίδοc, but Διοcκορίc is not to be found in W. Pape, G. Benseler, *Wb. d. gr. Eigennamen*, F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. The plate in P. Lond. Facsimiles III No. 91 favours Διοcκορίδου, and definitely discourages -ίδοc.) See now also P. Van Minnen, *ZPE* 67 (1987) 120 for similar independent conclusions.

For the middle of the fourth century we have some evidence from the archive of Papnuthis and Dorotheus, see XLVIII **3410** 11–12, **3412, 3428** 16. The first is a mere passing reference in a letter, the third an account entry for commutation of the wax levy to money. In **3412** a *praepositus pagi* orders Dorotheus as his assistant to make the persons who are liable to the levy deliver wax to his agents, who are a soldier and a guard, see introd. and further below 19 n.

Χύcιν. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 219–20; M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 322–6, D. Kessler in *L'Egyptologie en 1979* i 239–45, fig. 61, P. Van Minnen, *ZPE* 67 (1987) 123 n. 10, citing more works by Kessler. There seems to be no possibility that χύcιν, 'melting', was intended. With τό understand something like μέροc, 'for the share (or "section", or "portion") relating to Chysis'.

Pruneti and Drew-Bear accept that Chysis changed nomes at various times. Their chief evidence is that land in the vicinity is sometimes described as being in the Hermopolite nome, see XVII **2134** 15 περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν Χῦcιν ἐν Ἑρμοπολείτῃ (*c.*AD 170), *BASP* 8 (1971) 7.5–7 π[ε]ρ[ὶ] κώμην Χῦcιν ἐν Ἑρμοπολειτικοῖc ἐδάφεcι (AD 178), XIV **1724** 7 [περὶ τ]ὴν π[ρο]κειμένην Χῦcιν κωμογρα(μματείας) Πα[c]κώ. This is not at all inconsistent with the many documents which place it definitely in the Upper toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome. The use there of a measure known chiefly from the Hermopolite documents (PSI IV 281.7–8 of AD 138/9, P. Berl. Leihg. I 20.28 of AD 149) is similarly explicable by simple proximity, as is the appearance of Chysis in a tax list referring otherwise only to Hermopolite villages (P. Lips. 99.21 of the fourth century). It is clear that there was Hermopolite land which was most easily described by reference to its proximity to this Oxyrhynchite village.

2 Ἵππέας is a rare name and rather doubtfully read, but it seems to suit the remains best. The only parallel I can offer is from P. Mich. Inv. 3822, a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus assigned to the late third or early fourth century, headed λόγοc πρὸc κληρονόμουc Ἱππέα (H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* i 484–5 = *ZPE* 31 (1978) 166–7). The trace after the short gap is a flat base strongly suggesting delta. Unless there is an untraced name long enough to include it, perhaps read δ̣ι[ά], although there are no other intermediaries in the list, or [α]δ[ε]^{λ} or [α]δ^{ε} for ἀδελφόc. We have ἀδελφόc in full in 5, but at this point it would have made the line rather long and it is clear that the clerk wanted to keep a column just about the same width as the heading.

μν(αῖ) λ. Wax is usually reckoned at this date in λίτραι, i.e. Roman *librae*. The λίτρα had 96 drachmas, cf. XLIX **3455** 22, the mina 100 drachmas, so that the difference is small. It is perhaps likely that they were treated as equivalent terms, cf. D. W. Rathbone, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 267–8.

3 *Μορφοῦς* may be genitive, cf. 15. If nominative, it is new, i.e. not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. If this is a development from *Μορφώ*, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 87, cf. 60. It is presumably feminine.

4 Perhaps correct to *Σαρμάτου*, but Sarmates may be an alias rather than a patronymic.

5 *Εὐτόνι*[*ος*. Cf. Eutonius alias Uranius in P. Mich. inv. 4111.4 (*ZPE* 37 (1980) 217–18 = H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* ii 581–2); the same man appears in XLIV **3189** 5–6, where ed. pr. gave the name wrongly as Eutrygius, see LIV p. 226. There might be room here for something like *ο*[*ὐρανιος*] = *ὁ κ*(*αὶ*) *Οὐράνιος*. Even with a rare name like Eutonius we cannot be quite sure of identity. Like this document, the two others are undated. All three seem to belong to the early fourth century, see LIV p. 226.

7 *Οὐϊκτενία* is new in the papyri; cf. W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lat. Eigennamen* 254–5. There is a blank of at least 2 cm after the name, which makes it unlikely that this lady was identified further in the following gap.

12 The remains would be very suitable for *Ἀχ*[*ω*]*ρίτης*, '(inhabitant) of Acoris', cf. M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 293; add XLIX **3507** 21. The village of Acoris or *Τῆνις ἡ καὶ Ἀκώρεως* was in the north of the Hermopolite nome, see op. cit. 291–6, and carte 1, which shows it not very far SE of Chysis and on the opposite, east, bank of the Nile. The variant with chi is fairly well attested for the Roman period, see ibid. 292.

18–22 It is hard to make complete sense of the information we are given here. The total general assessment for the village was evidently 240 minas, i.e. 234 collected, plus 6 outstanding. This seems to have been divided among the contributors according to some sort of means test, perhaps depending on their possession of hives, perhaps only on their holding in land or on their total wealth. The missing 6 minas may imply that a prospective contributor defaulted, since they, together with the 46 minas 'for representations of the Augusti', which have the appearance of being the complete assessment for this purpose, are to be collected in equal shares from the contributors already named, one excepted. It is not clear why Pecyllus is exempt. If he had died, his heirs would have been liable. He might perhaps have absconded leaving no possessions or had his property confiscated.

18 The oblique stroke for (*γίνονται*) is well known. The L-shaped symbol is familiar for (*ἔτος*) and for (*ὧν*) in accounts, preceding the analysis of a total. Here neither has any place, unless /⌊ could mean (*γίνονται*) (*τοῦ ἔτους*), which is perhaps just possible, although very unexpected and without any parallel known to me. At times (*γίνονται*) is followed by *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* or *τὸ πᾶν* or *ὁμοῦ*, but this symbol is not known to represent any of these.

19 Cf. introd. No stress can be laid on the diminutive form of *ικονια* = *εἰκόνια*, see L. R. Palmer, *Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* 79–86, F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 27–9. Palmer (p. 85) found two references to this word in the papyri, but I can find it cited only from W. Chr. 480.21, *ἔπεμψά σ*[*ι τὸ εἰ*]*κόνιν μ*[*ου*, 'I sent you my picture', where the sublinear horizontal claims that the kappa is certain, though broken, see plate in W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses* No. 28. Some doubt must attach to it there. In XII **1449** *εἰκονίδιον* repeatedly refers to representations of Caracalla with his parents Julia Domna and Septimius Severus. The size and material of them are unknown, however strongly they recall the Berlin tondo, see **3791** introd. The *ἰκονίδια* of St Colluthus and the Theotokos, partly and wholly gilded, in XVI **1925** 6–8 (7th/8th cent.) sound like conventional Greek icons.

It may be that a similar sort of levy is meant in XLVIII **3412** of *c.*AD 360, where a *praepositus pagi* tells his assistant, 'I have sent you Gerontius, a soldier, and Demetrius, a guard of the strategus, so that you can make the responsible parties pay them *κηροῦ λί*(*τρας*) *ι΄΄ τοῦ κηρῶνος καιηκονος Ἀλεξανδρίας*', which is partly translated '10 pounds of wax per bee-hive and (?) . . . of Alexandria'. The phonetic equivalent *καὶ εἰκόνος* now appears a less improbable interpretation than it did, although much uncertainty remains. If that is correct, *τοῦ κηρῶνος* needs a new interpretation too. The word is otherwise known only from Sch. Ar., *Eccl.* 742, where *τὰ κηρία κόμιζε* is glossed *ἴσως τοὺς κηρῶνας λέγει*. The *κηρία* are honeycombs; the commentator is unlikely to have imagined that bee-hives were to be carried in this procession, as *LSJ* translates, but he may have thought of wax candles, on which see H. Blümner, *Technologie* ii 160–2, *RE* Suppl. xiii 1386–1407, 1410–13. A candle is sometimes *κηρίων*, cf. Plut., *Mor.* 2.263 F.(Qu. Rom. 2) *πέντε λαμπάδας ἅπτουσιν ἐν τοῖς γάμοις, ἃς κηρίωνας ὀνομάζουσιν*, Gal. 17(2). 267 . . . *θερμαινόμενον ἐπὶ λυχνιαίας φλογὸς ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ καλουμένου κηρίωνος*. The scholiast may have written *κηρίωνας*, or, since loss of accented iota before a back vowel is common in phonetic spelling, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 302–3, he may have meant the same thing when he wrote *κηρῶνας*. In any case there is no plausible basis for translating **3412** 6 as '10 pounds of wax per bee-hive', especially since *κηρῶνος* looks as if it is linked by *καί* with *ηκονος* (= *εἰκόνος*?). The suffix *-ών* is productive in the Koine, see L. R. Palmer, *Grammar* 120–1; it usually indicates a location where things are grown or kept. Here, where *κηρ*⟨*ί*⟩*ωνος* does not seem to offer help, *κηρών* might mean a wax warehouse or even, perhaps, a wax levy, so translate, 'for the wax levy(?) and an image for(?) Alexandria'. An image 'of' Alexandria is conceivable, but a statue (of an emperor?) 'for' Alexandria seems more likely.

The present passage leaves us to speculate how the wax was used in connection with 'representations of the Augusti'. A general survey of the uses of wax is given by H. Blümner, *Technologie* ii 151–63. On p. 154 we find the artistic possibilities listed as encaustic painting, various forms of work on marble, and casting, especially in bronze, as well as modelling, which is treated at length, pp. 155–9. Small wax models of minor gods were made, ibid. 155, but this is unlikely for emperors, I guess, especially since they might be particularly open to magical abuse; for wax in magic see A. S. F. Gow on Theoc. 2. 28, cf. Hor. *ep.* 17.76, *sat.* i 8. 40–5. Wax effigies of emperors appeared at their funerals, see *RE* Suppl. xiii 1363–6, esp. 1364: Cassius Dio lvi 34 (Augustus), lxxiv 4–5 (Pertinax), Herodian 4.2.1–2.10 (apotheosis of Septimius Severus), cf. Appian, *BC* 2.147 = 612 (Caesar), but this custom does not seem likely to be relevant. Although the Romans made wax portraits particularly of aristocratic ancestors, see *RE* Suppl. xiii 1263–6, again no connection is likely here. Marble statues may have been polished or treated with wax or waxy mixtures, see *RE* Suppl. xiii 1381–2, T. Pekáry, *Das röm. Kaiserbildnis* 68 n. 20, but the article which Pekáry cites, C. Gnilka, *JAC* 7 (1964) 52–7, actually casts some doubt on this. It is certainly a possibility that this wax could have been used for encaustic paintings of emperors, cf. **3791** introd.

For a papyrus reference to wax in painting see P. Cair. Zen. IV 59767.6, and on the process see Blümner, op. cit. iv 442–64, *RE* Suppl. xiii 1372–85. But it is most likely that the wax here was to be used in making bronze statues by the lost wax technique, see Blümner, op. cit. iv 286–7; *RE* Suppl. xiii 1358–61; P. C. Bol, *Antike Bronzetechnik* 118–28. On Egyptian taxes for images of emperors see Pekáry, op. cit. 16. One is specifically bronze, see *APF* 6 (1920) 219 Nr. 4 (AD 117/18) = SB IV 7398, *συνισφορᾶς ἀνδ*(*ριάντος*) *χαλκ*(*οῦ*) *καὶ προτομ*(*ῆς*) *ἀργυρᾶς Ἁδριανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου*.

22 $52 \div 15 = 3.4\dot{6}$, which has been rounded up to $3\frac{1}{2}$, cf. 31–2 n.

23 *καταγωγῆς*. Probably this refers to the transport of the wax northwards, cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* i 493 n. 36, perhaps from Chysis to Oxyrhynchus, more likely from Chysis to Alexandria.

24 For the symbol for talent, which comes again in 30, cf. P. Cair. Isid., Plate V; for the shape of *Ἀ* = 1,000, cf. ibid., Plate III.

Tal. 1 dr. 1,200 represents a two-fifths share of tal. 3. It is not clear what this implies about the process of collecting the levy. There may have been a partnership arrangement.

25 *ἡγουμένῳ*. Possibly we should write *'Ηγουμένῳ* as a personal name, cf. P. Heid. IV 325.1 and n., and this would be an easy way out of much ambiguity over the title, see below, but the context rather suggests that an official received a fee or bribe for providing some essential piece of paperwork. As the designation of a *praeses* this seems to have come in with the earliest *praeses Thebaidos c.*AD 295, see P. Beatty Panop. introduction pp. xviii–xix, cf. ibid. 1.78, 126 etc., 2.30, 58 (Julius Athenodorus, AD 298–300), CPR VII 21.2 (as read in *ZPE* 41 (1981) 281–2: Aur. Reginus, *c.*AD 300–5), XXXIII **2665** 15 (Satrius Arrianus, AD 305–6). It is true that *ἡγεμών* was also used, see e.g. P. Grenf. II 78 (= M. *Chr.* 63).1 (Satrius Arrianus, AD 307), but there was a danger that this might cause confusion with the prefect of Egypt, who began to be called exclusively *ἔπαρχος* (*Αἰγύπτου*), cf. C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets* 97–114. However, the Oxyrhynchite nome fell under a *praeses* with the title of *ἡγούμενος* only during the existence of the province of Herculia (*c.*AD 315–24), cf. e.g. L **3574** 1, after which it returned under the jurisdiction of the prefect of Egypt, see LIV **3756** introd. When the province of Augustamnica was created in AD 341, the *praeses* seems to have been called exclusively *ἡγεμών*, and there was no longer any danger of confusion with the prefect, since by then *ἔπαρχος* was established usage for him.

Therefore, if a *praeses* is meant here, the date is likely to be in the period AD 315–24. However, *ἡγούμενος* does occur sporadically for much lowlier officers, e.g. representatives of societies: *ἡγούμενος συνόδου* P. Grenf. II 67 (= W. *Chr.* 497).3 (III), *ἡ. γερδίων* P. Grenf. II 43.9 (I), *ἡ. ἱερέων* P. Lond. II 281.2 (p. 66; I), *ἡ. πενταφυλίας* P. Lond. II 335. 4–5 (p. 191; II), alone in P. Fay. 110.26 (I). There was a guild of *μελισσουργοί* at Oxyrhynchus in the early fourth century, see R. A. Coles, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 120, but I know of no guild *ἡγούμενοι* from Oxyrhynchus. Even more obscure is the *ἡ. κώμης* P. Ryl. II 125.3 (I). Slightly better known are the *ἡ. τοῦ στρατηγοῦ* II **294** 19 (I), XVII **2120** 5 (III), and *ἡ. τοῦ βασιλικοῦ* (sc. *γραμματέως*) BGU III

830.17 (I), cf. N. Hohlwein, *Le stratège* 60. They seem to have been the heads of the clerical staffs of their respective offices. The strategus is mentioned here below in 28, where it looks as if a payment was made to some subordinate of his. It is hard to know if this supports a recognition of this *ἡγούμενος* as his bureau chief or not. If it was e.g. [*ὑ(πηρέτῃ) c]τρατηγοῦ* in 28, we may ask why not *ἡ. cτρατηγοῦ* here. But such inconsistency is not at all unexpected or unparalleled. It is simply impossible to know. The reason for the payment, 'in respect of a letter', hardly gives a clue to the rank of the *ἡγούμενος*. A praesidial letter would have been the best insurance in many transactions, but we cannot be sure that that is what is referred to.

26 The abbreviation is not familiar. It looks like *κϛ* followed by a raised double curve with a crossbar through the middle. Some version of *κνίδιον* is conceivable, but I cannot recognize it. *κϛ(ράμιον)* seems likeliest. If the share in the jar of honey is the same, $\frac{2}{3}$, as in the transport charges in 23–4, the jar of honey was valued at dr. 3,000 or half a talent, see 24 n. The calculation is $\frac{1200}{1} \times \frac{5}{2} = 3{,}000$. So also in 27. Unfortunately I have not succeeded in finding useful comparative figures. Unspecified small quantities of honey used on a journey in AD 325 cost dr. 100 (P. Ryl. IV 627.148; 629.298). In Diocletian's price edict of AD 301 three qualities (§3.10–12) cost 40, 24, and 8 denarii (= dr. 160, 96, 32) per sextarius. This jar was probably a large container like an amphora, so that the price, broadly speaking, is low enough to suggest the earlier part of the fourth century.

27 Cf. XLVIII **3406** 9–10 *ἀπέτηcον . . . τὰ δύο κεράμια τοῦ μέλιτος διὰ τὴν ἑορτήν* (l. *ἀπαίτηcον, ἑορτήν*).

28–9 It looks as if this payment was made to a subordinate of the strategus, cf. 25 n. Restore perhaps something like *ὑ(πηρέτῃ)*, 'assistant', or *γρ(αμματεῖ)*, 'secretary'. The word *εἰcαγωγή* might mean 'tax-gathering', 'import', or 'introduction of a lawsuit', to give a few possibilities. The context is obscured by the fact that *μοτυλωνα*, which seems clear to read, is completely unknown. It could be a name. It appears to be in the accusative case. The preceding *π′* would be a possible abbreviation for *π(αρά)* but is unlikely to be *π(ρός)*. Probably, therefore, it belongs to some longer word.

30 The total is correct: tal. 1 dr. 1,200 (24) + dr. 1,200 (26) + dr. 1,200 (27) + dr. 440 (29) = tal. 1 dr. 4,040.

31–2 Tal. 1 dr. 4,040 divided by 234 comes out at $42\frac{212}{234}$, which has been rounded up to 43, cf. 22 n.

The remains of the dotted letters in *ἐ̣π̣ι̣[κ]λώμενα* seem characteristic, but some doubt must attach to the reading because, if we exclude P. Cair. Zen. III 59509.4, where *ἐπέκλα[cεν* is unconvincingly restored in a much damaged context, the dictionaries record the verb in the papyri only from a very difficult passage at P. Philad. 1.47. *LSJ Suppl.* s.v. gives it the accolade 'dub. sens.'. The passage as a whole remains incomprehensible at the moment, but it looks as if *ἐπικλάω* is represented by *ἐπιμερίζω* in the judgement below. It is a question of distributing the responsibility for taxes or cultivation of state land among persons properly liable. The village scribe admits that he made the distribution (*αὐτοῦ ταύτην ἐπικλάcαντος* 47), but it emerges that he assigned responsibilities to weavers, who were exempt from such imposts. Therefore the presiding official in his judgement says that since the village scribe has begun to distribute public land to weavers (*ἀρξάμενος γερδίοις ἐπιμερίζειν δημοcίας γῆc* 52–3), he is to undertake it himself or assign it to others at his own risk in future. The land taxes in kind or money called *ἐπιμερικμοί* and *ἐπικλαcμοί* are well attested, see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation* 26–7, 70–1, G. Poethke, *Epimerismos*, D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 67 (1987) 103–4. It seems, therefore, that *ἐ̣π̣ι̣[κ]λώμενα* here gives the sense we need, 'broken up, distributed'.

The reading receives further confirmation from three undoubted occurrences of the verb in this sense in the inscription published by G. Wagner, *BIFAO* 71 (1972) 161–79, see esp. 171–2 (5–6 n.), and from the recently published correction of *ἐπικλαύcω* to *ἐπικλάcω* in P. Amh. II 154.9, made first by R. Rémondon, see J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 46–7 and n. 268.

3793–3794. Official Correspondence

76/14a 46 × 25.5 cm 340

These two letters are joined side by side and came evidently from a file in roll form made up of letters addressed to the *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite nome. The beginnings of **3793** and the ends of **3794** are lost. Each has a manufacturer's join,

besides the join between them, which was made by pasting the right edge of **3793** over the left edge of **3794**. The surviving width of **3793** is about 21 cm and that of **3794** about 28 cm, the overlap being about 3 cm.

The items have in common that they are about the supply of craftsmen for government works. The sender of **3793**, whose name is damaged, had been ordered by Flavius Valacius, the *dux Aegypti*, to inspect all the military forts in the province and report back to him any repair or renovation that any of them might need. He had inspected the fort of Psobthis and, finding that the walls needed decorating (*κονιάcαι̣ωc* 10), but that there was no craftsman available at the place, he wrote to the Oxyrhynchite *curator* to send one to work there for a few days. His farewell is in Latin, which makes it probable that he was a military subordinate of the *dux*. Remains of the consular date in Latin follow below. The day and place of issue will have appeared in Latin in the lost left margin, as we see they did in **3794** 17–19.

The sender of **3794** was Flavius Philagrius, prefect of Egypt, and the document is altogether more impressive. The script, in contrast with the fluent but unpretentious official cursive of **3793**, is in good Chancery style, to be compared especially with L **3577** (Pl. XVII there) of AD 342, as also with other items considered in the introduction to **3577**. In the left margin, partly overlapped by **3793**, is a Latin annotation of the day and place of issue. At bottom right we have no doubt lost a consular date in Latin and, above that, the prefect's farewell formula, which, since he was a civil official, will have been in Greek, cf. especially XLIII **3129** 9, by the same prefect.

It was addressed to the *curator* in the first place, but also to the syndic, *exactor*, overseer of the peace, and principal councillors of Oxyrhynchus. The subject is the supply of craftsmen to praetorian prefects, which is potentially of great interest, but the losses on the right deprive us of any clear understanding of the situation. What emerges is that an official, Silvanus *uir perfectissimus*, in examining the account of the assessment had discovered that too few craftsmen had been sent in each relay—whatever that may mean. In the lower part of the letter, where the estimates of missing letters range from 27 to 37, numbers are calculated, a question of money, which may represent a fine, arises, and at the end, it seems, the recipients are warned to behave properly in future, see the commentary for the details.

According to notations in the top margin of each, both letters were received in the month of Mesore, 25 July to 23 August, or to 28 August including the intercalary days. It is probably safe to assume that the year was the same for both. For **3793** the day was Mesore 12 = 5 August, if the traces of the numbers are correctly interpreted. The day is lost in **3794**, although we learn from the note in the left margin (17–19) that it was issued at Alexandria in the period 16 July to 1 August.

The remains of the consular date clause in **3793** 18 show that both consuls were *uiri clarissimi*, so that years with imperial consuls are excluded. Flavius Philagrius served two terms as prefect of Egypt, first in AD 335–7 and, after the short term of Flavius Antonius Theodorus in AD (337–?)338, again in AD 338–40 (or 341?). This makes it

clear that the latest possible year for **3793–3794** is AD 340, since by Easter AD 341 Philagrius had been replaced by his successor Longinus (PLRE I 514). Therefore the full range of available years with two senatorial consuls is AD 335–8 and 340. However, one can argue from the career of the *dux* Valacius that the later years are more likely, and indeed July–August AD 340 would be the earliest documentary reference to him. He is attested in documents of AD 342 and 344 and died in Egypt under the prefect Nestorius (AD 345–52). The beginning of his term is not well fixed, see CPR V 10.6 n., **3820** 14 n., so that theoretically he can offer no *terminus post quem* here, but there is a presumption that the earlier years of the range are less likely than the later ones, since he is unlikely to have served much longer than the five years which are certain, AD 340–5. It seems that AD 340 is much the most likely year for **3793–3794**.

3793

] (vac.?) (m. 1) *Μεσορὴ ιβ΄.* (vac.)

(m. 2) *Φλάουϊος* 2–5].....[.] (vac.) *λογιϲ[τ]ῇ*
'Οξυρυ]γχείτου (vac.) *χ[αίρειν.]* (vac.)
ἐπεὶ μὲν ἡ] τῷ κυρίου μου τοῦ διαϲημοτάτου δουκὸϲ Φλ[(αουΐου) Οὐα]λακί
ἐξουϲία] τῇ ἐμῇ μετριότητι ἐκέλευϲεν ὅλα τὰ κάϲτρα τὰ
ὄντα ἐπὶ τ]ῆϲδε τῆϲ ἐπαρχείου ἐπιθεωρῆϲαί με καὶ οἱαϲδή-
ποτε ἐπιϲ]κευῆϲ ἢ ἀνανεώϲαιωϲ λιπεῖν τινα κάϲτρα εὕροιμι
c.12 letters *]ίαϲ τινὸϲ εἰϲ γνῶϲιν αὐτοῦ ἀνενεγκεῖν, ἐπιθεω-*
ρήϲαϲ δὲ καὶ] τὰ κάϲτρα Ψώβθεωϲ ὑπ[ὸ] 'Ηρακλειανὸν ἔπαρχον
εὗρον c.5 *] τὰ τίχη κονιάϲαιμϲ δ[έ]ϲϲθαι, διεβεβαιώϲαντο 'δὲ' τεχνί[τ]ην*
c.10 *] μὴ ἔχειν, διὸ γραφῆναι τῇ ϲῇ ἀγχινοίᾳ ἀναγκαῖον ἐνό-*
μιϲα ἵνα c.8 *]...τον τεχνίτην πρὸϲ ὀλίγαϲ ἡμέραϲ μετὰ*
c.15 *] ἐπίκτου ἀποϲτείλῃϲ αὐτοῖϲ κατὰ τὴν προτέραν*
20–5 *]....* *πρὸϲ τὸ μηδεμίαν πρόφαϲιν*
25–30 *]τοιϲ περὶ τούτου δυνηθείη.* (m. 3) *opto bene*
ualeas per
multos ann[os]
(m. 4) *u](iris) c(larissimis) cons(ulibus).*

3 l. *'Οξυρυγχίτου* 7 l. *ἀνανεώϲεωϲ, λιπέϲθαι?* 9 l. *'Ηρακλιανόν* 10 l. *τείχη, κονιάϲεωϲ*
11 αγ'χινοια, αναγ'καιον 12 l. *τεχνίτην* 13 l. *ἐπείκτου* 18 *u]uccons*

(1st hand) '(. . . ?) Mesore 12(?)'.
(2nd hand) 'Flavius . . . to the *curator* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greetings. Whereas His Highness, my lord the most perfect *dux*, Flavius Valacius, ordered my Mediocrity that I should inspect all the forts which lie in this province and bring to his notice (without?) any . . . whatever repair or renewal I might find any fort(s?) to lack, and after inspecting also the fort of Psobthis under Heraclianus, prefect, I found that . . . the walls require limewashing, but they declared that they did not have a . . . craftsman, therefore I considered it necessary that a letter should be written to your Sagacity in order that you should send them . . . craftsman for a few days with . . . commissioner in accordance with the previous . . . so that no pretext may . . . may be able to . . . in this connection.'
(3rd hand) 'I pray for your good health for many years!'
(4th hand) '(Under . . . and . . .), *uiri clarissimi*, consuls.'

1 This is a notation, made probably in the office of the *curator*, about the receipt of the letter, see **3794** 1 δι(ὰ) *Caραπίωνοϲ ὀφ(φικιαλίου) Μεϲορ[ή* . . . The hands do not seem to be the same. In this case, although the fibres are damaged, it seems clear that there was no writing for a space of *c.*2 cm to the left of the date. There seem to be some traces further to the left on very twisted and broken fibres, but so little that they may be stray ink. The month and day may well have been enough.

Mesore 12 = 5 August. The letter was probably dispatched from the camp, which was inside the Oxyrhynchite nome, and would have arrived the same day or the day after.

2].....[.]. These remains might be interpreted, very doubtfully, as]. ϥιαν[ό]ϲ. It seems clear, however, that they are not compatible with [*Cι*]*λουανός*, see **3794** 4. Since this official had received his orders from the *dux* and wrote his subscription in Latin (15–17), it is likely that he was a military subordinate of the *dux*, cf. introd. Therefore he will have had the *nomen* Flavius as a status indication, see J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 11 (1978) 49–50, and it will have stood at the beginning of this line, cf. **3794** 2. Since *nomen* and *cognomen* were probably spaced, cf. again **3794** 2, we cannot guess the length of the *cognomen* very closely.

4 *Φλ[(αουΐου) Οὐα]λακίου.* This confirms that some version of the *nomen* Flavius must be read and restored in CPR V 10.6, see the note there reluctantly allowing *Φ]λαψίου*. So also in P. Abinn. 2.1 restore *Flaui]us*. On Valacius see PLRE I 929; add CPR V 10.6 n., **3820** 14 n., T. D. Barnes, *Phoenix* 39 (Toronto 1985) 372–3. This must be the earliest documentary mention of him, see introd.

5 *ἐξουϲία*]. Cf. P. Abinn. 3.4; 15.11, [17], 18.

6 *τ]ῆϲδε τῆϲ ἐπαρχείου.* Cf. XVII **2106** 4 (of *c.*AD 304–6, see *CE* 49 (1974) 165, cf. R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* 27–8), the only other instance of this usage in the papyri.

The *με* picking up *τῇ ἐμῇ μετριότητι* in 5 is comparable with the tendency to repeat pronouns, cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* ii 847, Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, *Grammatik d. neutest. Gr.*[18] 229 (§278).

7 *λιπεῖν*. In the sense 'to lack' we expect the middle, *λείπεϲθαι τινόϲ*; cf. Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, *Grammatik d. neutest, Gr.*[18] 145 (§180 n. 5). Perhaps this is simply a mistake.

8 We expect the meaning 'without any delay', but a suitable noun ending in *-ία* has not yet been thought of. (Mr Parsons offers *ὀκνηρία*, cf. P. Cair. Masp. II 67158.16 (AD 578) [*δίχα πάϲηϲ ῥᾳδ]ιουργίαϲ . . . καὶ οἱαϲδήποτε ὀκνηρία*[ϲ].)

9 *τὰ κάϲτρα Ψώβθεωϲ.* This is the earliest certain mention of the fort, known from XVI **2004** 1 (5th cent.) and **1883** 2 (AD 504). Cf. CPR V 13.3 n., where I suggested that the Psoft(h)is there (AD 395) and the Oxyrhynchite *κάϲτρον Ψώβθεωϲ* may be the same as Sosteos, the station in the fifth century of the *ala secunda Assyriorum* (Not. Dig., Or. XXVIII 33). (Note that there were four, not three, villages of this name in the Oxyrhynchite nome, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 223–6.) Add *ZPE* 56 (1984) 79–88.

Some modification of this view is suggested by *ChLA* XVIII 660 (= J. Vezin, *BSAF* (1972) 143–6, Pl. X) i 1, where we find the] *ale tertia* (*sic*: case uncertain) *Assuriorum*, stationed somewhere in the area of Oxyrhynchus (i 4), which has allowed a connection to be made with PSI IV 300, dated to AD 324 (not AD 392: *BASP* 17 (1980) 16). We should probably read there].ω ἵλης (ἴλης = εἵλης) *τρίτης Α*[*cc*]*υρίων διακε*ι[*μένης . . . τοῦ 'Οξ*]*υρυγχίτου* (*-γ'χ-*) *νομοῦ* (2–3). For this reading I rely in part on notes taken when I inspected the papyrus on two occasions in 1970. The details at the end of line 2 are uncertain.

Rather than suppose that there were two regiments of 'Assyrian' cavalry in this area, it seems better to acknowledge the likelihood that '*secunda*' in *Not. Dig.* is an error going back to a version which had Roman numerals. If this is right, we should restore something like *διακει*[*μένης ἐν κάϲτροιϲ Ψώβθεωϲ τοῦ 'Οξ*]*υρυγχίτου* in PSI 300.2–3. Likewise we should reject the restoration of *degenti*]*s i*[*n*] *c*[*iuita*]*te Oxy*[*rynchitarum*] in *ChLA* 660 i 4–5. The plate shows many more traces than this punctuation implies,

although I have failed to find any suitable wording to fit them. The absurd spelling of this text makes it difficult to rely on scattered traces. We expect a mention of the same camp.

The date of *ChLA* XVIII 660 must be later than Constantine's defeat of Licinius in September AD 324, because all the soldiers have the name Flavius as a status indication; under Licinius Egyptian soldiers were Valerii, cf. *ZPE* 11 (1973) 35, 37, 49–50, L **3580** introduction. If the remains in i 2–3, . . . *Cons*]*tantinus senper agustu* |[. . .] *nubilissimis Caisaris,* are from a consular date in spite of the disagreement of numbers and cases, then the possible years are AD 326 (Constantine VII, Constantius I) and AD 329 (Constantine VIII, Constantine Caesar IV). For early agreement of units and stations with *Not. Dig.* cf. A. K. Bowman, *BASP* 15 (1978) 30–1 nn. 36–7; add CPR VII 21.6 (*ala I Quadorum* in the Large Oasis *c.*AD 301; cf. D. Hagedorn in R. Pintaudi, *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (Pap. Flor. VII) 104–6, J. Rea, *ZPE* 41 (1981) 281–2), and P. Giss. inv. 126 recto 33, cf. 16 (*ala I Abasgorum* in the Large Oasis *c.*AD 309, see J. D. Thomas, *YCIS* 28 (1985) 117–18, 120–1).

Ἡρακλειανὸν ἔπαρχον. The prefect is new. He will be prefect of the camp, *ἔπαρχος κάστρων,* and/or of the unit, *ἔπαρχος εἴλης*(?), cf. Abinnaeus, often addressed as *ἐπάρχῳ εἴλης στρατιωτῶν κάστρων Διονυσιάδος,* e.g. P. Abinn. 45, 47–9, 52–3.

10 At the beginning of the line we might possibly have the title of the prefect continued, e.g. *εἴλης εὖρον*], or we might have *εὖρον* followed by an adjective such as *πάντα,* or an adverb such as *πρῴην.*

κονιάςαμως (= *κονιάσεως*). This word seems to cover limewash, as applied with a brush, plaster, as applied with a special tool called a float, and stucco, which usually implies moulded decoration. In this case only one specialist craftsman is required for what looks like the whole or a substantial part of the walls of an auxiliary fort, although the damage makes this slightly uncertain; one might supply *ὁλ*[*γα τ*(*ε*)*ίχη,* for example. However, the chances seem to be in favour of limewash, applied probably by workmen, cf. 12–13 n., or soldiers, under the supervision of the specialist. See also A. Badawy on the auxiliary cavalry camp of Dionysias in J. Schwartz *et al.*, *Qaṣr-Qārūn/Dionysias 1950* (Fouilles Franco-Suisses Rapports II, Publications de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Le Caire, 1969) p. 46, 'Les murs de brique crue semblent avoir été enduits d'une mince couche de limon. D'autres parois du même matériau ont reçu une seconde couche d'enduit blanc à la chaux, ne dépassant 1 mm. d'épaisseur (salle à l'Est de l'abside) ou pouvant atteindre une couche d'environ 3–5 mm. d'épaisseur (abside, salle à l'Ouest du *bêma*)'. The thinner layer seems to be limewash. It is not clear whether the thicker one is plaster or an accumulation of coats of limewash.

For gypsum and other plasters cf. A. J. Spencer, *Brick Architecture in Ancient Egypt,* 134. For stucco see N. Blanc, 'Les stucateurs romains', *MEFRA* 95 (1983) 859–907 and 'Gardes de corps ou stucateurs? Les *tectores* dans l'armée romaine', ib. 96 (1984) 727–37. In our case clearly the unit did not include a specialist in the required field.

11 At the beginning of the line we might guess *ἐπιτήδειον*], 'suitable, competent', but cf. 12–13 n.

ἀγχινοία. Unattested in the papyri until recently, see H. Zilliacus, *Unters. z. d. abstrakten Anredeformen* 49, 64, 105, L. Dinneen, *Titles of Address in Christian Greek Epistolography* 20, this has appeared in LIV **3758** 63, again as an honorific address to the *curator* (AD 325).

11–12 For the stopgap *ἐγώ-*|[12]*μικα,* cf. XL **2924** 5. The more usual *ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην* is excluded.

12–13 The restored *ἵνα* governs *ἀποστείλῃς* (13). It will depend on *γραφῆναι* (11), cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* pp. 262–3 (§586). Before *τεχνείτην* we expect something like *ἔμπειρον,* 'experienced', or *ἐπιτήδειον,* 'competent', cf. 11 n., but the traces will not suit these particular words. It could be that the craftsman was actually named, 'X *τὸν τεχνείτην*'. After *μετά* we might think of [*ἐργατῶν ἱκανῶν* (or *κονίας ἱκανῆς*) *καὶ*] *ἐπίκτου* (= *ἐπείκτου*), 'with sufficient workmen (or 'limewash') and a commissioner'. Cf. especially P. Beatty Panop. 1.335 *ἐπείκτην τὸν . . . τὴν τοῦ ἀρτοκοπείου ἐπισκευὴν ποιησόμενον,* 374–5 *ἔ*]*πειξιν τῆς ἐπισκευῆς τοῦ . . . ἀρτοκοπείου.* For *ἐπείκται* as liturgists see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 26.

13–14 We might restore *συνήθειαν,* 'custom', but probably this is a reference to an earlier letter or other instruction, e.g. *ἐπιστολήν, πρόσταξιν, κέλευσιν.*

14–15 We need an infinitive e.g. *γενέσθαι,* governed by *πρὸς τό* (14), 'so that no pretext (for . . . ?) may arise'.

15–17 The Latin subscription, which will be the autograph of the sender, suggests that he was a soldier, cf. introd. and 2 n. For *opto*+subj. cf. R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records* 98.2.3 *opto bene ualeatis,* A. K. Bowman, J. D. Thomas, *Vindolanda: The Latin Writing Tablets* 133 (No. 38.11) *o*]*pto felicissimus uiuas.*

18 On the consular date clause see introduction, suggesting that we probably need to restore the

formula for AD 340, which has not occurred in Latin on papyrus; cf. XLIII **3129** 10 for AD 335 (in part), L **3577** 9 for AD 342, and P. Abinn. 2.10 for AD 344. The Greek formulas do not reflect the Latin ones exactly, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 111, but we might expect something like *Septimio Acindyno praef*(*ecto*) *praet*(*orio*) *et Populonio Proculo u*](*iris*) *c*(*larissimis*) *cons*(*ulibus*). At forty-five letters the restoration seems long at first sight, but this Latin script is highly compressed.

The consular formula will have been written by a clerk, not by the sender, who wrote the Latin subscription in 15–17. It looks very different from the Greek in the body of the letter, probably written by a different person. See L **3577** introd. for the difficulty of assessing the exact steps in the diplomatic of such documents.

3794

(vac.) (m. 1) δι(ὰ) *Σαραπίωνος ὀφ*(*φικιαλίου*) *Μεσορ*[*ή*

(m. 2) *Φλάουϊος Φιλάγριος* (vac.) *λογιστῇ καὶ συνδίκῳ* [*καὶ ἐξάκτορι καὶ*
ἐπόπτῃ καὶ προπολιτευομένοις Ὀξυρυγχειτῶν (vac.) [*χαίρειν.*
ἐξετάζων [*Ϲι*]*λουανὸς ὁ διασημότατος τὸν λόγον τοῦ καν*[*όνος c.*8 letters
5 *δύο τεχνίτα*[*ϲ*] *ἔλαττον πεπέμφθαι καθ'ἑκάστην διαδο*[*χὴν c.*9 letters
πρὸς τὴν ἀνυπέρβλητον ἐ[*ξ*]*ουσίαν τ*[*ῶ*]*ν κυρίων μου* [*τῶν λαμπροτάτων*
ἐπάρχων καὶ συλλογισάμενος τ[*ου*[*c.*28 letters
ἐξήκοντα ἀνεδίδαξεν ἕκαστο[*c.*30 letters
κοντα ἕξ, ὡς συνάγεσθαι . . [*c.*34 letters
10 *ἑξήκοντα, τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον πρ*[*ὸς τὴν ἀνυπέρβλητον ἐξουσίαν τῶν κυρίων*
μου τῶν λαμπροτάτων ἐπά[*ρχων* *c.*30 letters
αὐτὸ τοῦτο δηλωθῆναι. φρ[*οντίϲατε* *c.*27 letters
καθ'ἑκάστην διαδοχὴν π[*c.*35 letters
ἑπτακοσίους ἑξήκοντα [*c.*37 letters
15 *γιγνώσκοντες ὡς εἰ μὴ τοῦ*[*το* *c.*35 letters
16 (vac.) [

Left margin, opposite 4–6: *da*]*t*(*a*)
(?) *Ka*]*l*(*endas*) *Aug*(*ustas*)
Al]*ex*(*andriae*)

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 2) *λογιστῇ καὶ συνδίκῳ καὶ ἐξάκτορι καὶ ἐπόπτῃ καὶ προπολ*(*ιτευομένοις*)
21 *Ὀξυρυγχείτου.*

1 *δι', οφ* 3 l. *Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν* 5 l. *τεχνίτας; ελατ'τον* 17–19 *da*]*t*[(?) *ka*]*laug*,[*al*]*ex* 20 *προπολ'* 21 l. *Ὀξυρυγχίτου*

(1st hand) 'Through Sarapion *officialis*, Mesore . . .'
(2nd hand) 'Flavius Philagrius to *curator* and syndic and *exactor* and overseer (of the peace) and principal councillors of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings.'

'Silvanus, *uir perfectissimus*, in examining the account of the assessment (found) that two(?) craftsmen too few had been sent in each relay . . . to the unsurpassed Highness of my lords the most glorious prefects, and reckoning together . . . sixty . . . he demonstrated (?) that each . . . ty-six, so as to total together . . . sixty, . . . this money to the unsurpassed Highness of my lords the most glorious prefects . . . this very matter to be declared. Take care . . . at each relay . . . seven hundred and sixty . . ., in the knowledge that if (you do) not (do) this, . . .'
(3rd hand) 'Given on the *n*th day before the Calends of August, at Alexandria.'
(2nd hand) 'To *curator* and syndic and *exactor* and overseer (of the peace) and principal councillors of the Oxyrhynchite nome.'

1 This notation of the receipt of the prefect's letter was probably made in the office of the *curator*, see **3793** 1 n. Sarapion, if that is correct—Σαράμμωνος does not look so suitable—was a member of the prefect's *officium* in Alexandria, cf. 17–19, who conveyed the letter from there to its destination.

2 On Flavius Philagrius see *PLRE* I 694; add XLIII **3129**, **3820** 10 n., P. Col. VII 175.

2–3 Cf. 20–1 for the restoration.

λογιστῆ. For the latest list see LIV App. I. This one could perhaps have been Flavius Eulogius, last known 26 November, AD 338, or Flavius Eusebius, first attested sometime in AD 341. Another, of course, may have intervened.

συνδίκῳ. Cf. LIV **3771** 3 n.

ἐξάκτορι. Cf. J. D. Thomas, *YCIS* 28 (1985) 116 and n. 3.

ἐπόπτῃ sc. εἰρήνης. Cf. L **3575** 3–4 n. Note, however, that my suggestion that the office was an innovation of AD 341 must be modified, since this document is from AD 340 at the latest, see introd. The person concerned is likely to be the Dioscorus who is the only known holder of the office.

Professor Hagedorn, in editing P. Monac. III 69, a fragment of a letter of the first *praeses Augustamnicae*, has very tentatively suggested that it is connected with the installation of an ἐπόπτης εἰρήνης in the Arsinoite nome.

προπολιτευομένοις. Cf. A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 155–8, with H. Geremek, *Anagennesis* 1 (1981) 231–47, LI **3627** 1 n., on πολιτευόμενοι.

4 [Cι]λουανός. This *uir perfectissimus* is unknown and seems unlikely to be the same as any of the homonyms in *PLRE* I. He may have been a procurator of some kind or a special commissioner.

The end of this line seems the best place for the main verb. Ends of lines are often uneven, so that εὗρεν or εὕρηκεν may be enough in themselves. We might even envisage εὗρεν δεκα]δύο, hardly a higher number.

5–15 The praetorian prefects were responsible for public works and workers were compulsorily assigned to the jobs, see A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* i 461–2. The words καθ'ἑκάστην διαδο[χήν (5, cf. 13) imply that there was a regular dispatch of relays of craftsmen. It is very unfortunate that the figures seem irrecoverable. In 14 (. . .) ἑπτακοσίους (masculine) ἑξήκοντα [. . . looks as if it refers to numbers of craftsmen, as in 5, (. . . ?) δύο τεχνείτα[ς], but in 10 ἑξήκοντα, τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον κτλ. seems to show that some of the figures relate to money. We may guess that this was a fine imposed on the bodies and officials who failed to meet the assessment, probably calculated at so much per missing craftsman.

At the end of 15 we will have lost the farewell formula of the prefect, see introduction paragraph 3.

16 Here there remains only a vacant space at the foot of the letter, but further to the right there must have been a consular date clause in Latin to specify the year and complement the marginal note (17–19) giving day and place of dispatch, see introduction paragraph 3, cf. L **3577** introduction p. 192, XLIII **3129**.

3795. List of Taxpayers

19 2B.80/E(d) 23 × 26 cm Fourth century

This list is concerned with ἄμειψις, the commutation of taxes payable in kind from one commodity into another. Not much is known about it, see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 7 (1971) 187, correcting XXXVI **2766** 14; add C. Gallazzi, G. Wagner, *BIFAO* 83 (1983) 186–7. The heading is ἐπὶ δὲ γ̄ ἀμίψ[εω]ς, 'for the third commutation', which may refer to the customary payment of taxes in three instalments over the year, see J. Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen* 189–91, E. R. Hardy, *Large Estates* 55–6. Twenty men are listed, unnamed except for three from the village of Seryphis (14–16). Ten fall under the sub-heading τῶν μὴ χιρογρ[αφησά]ντων (2), the rest are described as χιρογραφήσαντες καὶ [up to 15 letters]τήσαντες (17–18). We may perhaps guess that persons who wanted to supply a commodity other than the one prescribed by law had to make a separate contractual arrangement with the tax officials.

The listing of the numbers by pagus and place name contributes to our knowledge of Oxyrhynchite topography. The basic relationship between the toparchies and the pagi was elucidated in XII **1425** 4 n. With the new evidence it can be summarized as follows. The six toparchies were called Upper, Western, Eastern, Middle, Thmoesepho, and Lower. Upper is equivalent to southern and Lower to northern. We know that in principle the ten pagi were numbered from south to north. All the known villages of the first and second pagi had belonged previously to the Upper toparchy. All the known villages of the third pagus had belonged to the Western toparchy. In the fourth pagus some had come from the Western toparchy and some from the Eastern, while all those of the fifth pagus so far known had come from the Eastern. This suggests again that the Western and Eastern toparchies were not separated by the Middle toparchy, as might have seemed possible, but that they adjoined one another, cf. L **3589** 2–4 n., and that the bulk of them lay south of the Middle toparchy. Only one place in the sixth pagus, Plelo, has a known toparchy, which was the Middle, but see 13 n. for the puzzling case of Seryphis. In the seventh we know for certain only of one village from the Middle and one from the Thmoesepho, but it is probable, see below 12 n., that the list in VI **997** brings in six further villages from the Middle toparchy. In the eighth pagus, which is comparatively well documented, we have a mixture from the Thmoesepho and Lower toparchies, while for the ninth and tenth we know the toparchy of only one village in each, which was the Lower toparchy in both cases.

Below is a table based on P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 236–7, incorporating the information from **3795**. Pagi nos. 2, 5, and 8–10 are omitted because **3795** gives no new details about them. An asterisk indicates that the pagus number is known from **3795** only.

ᾱ πᾶγος

*ἐποικιον Κατι.[
*Μερμέρθα (Ἄνω)
*Νεσμῖμις (Ἄνω)
Παγγῦλις
Πεκτύ (Ἄνω)

γ̄ πᾶγος

*ἐποίκιον Καβαλλ[
Λευκίου (Λιβός)
Πανευΐ (Λιβός)
Ϲερῦφις (Λιβός), cf. ϛ̄ πᾶγος

δ̄ πᾶγος

Ἀδαίου (Ἀπηλιώτου)
*ἐποίκιον Ἀχιλᾶ
Ληνῶνος (Λιβός)
Τερῦθις (Ἀπηλιώτου)
*Ὤφις (Ἀπηλιώτου)

ϛ̄ πᾶγος

*ἐποίκιον Ἀμύντου
*ἐποίκιον Πλαντιάδ̣ος
*ἐποίκιον Πλελῶ (Μέση)
*Ϲερῦφις, cf. 13 n. (Λιβός)?
ἐποίκιον Χουτῆ[1]
*ἐποίκιον Ὠνημέν[..]

ζ̄ πᾶγος (cf. 12 n.)

Ἰέμη (Μέση)
ἐποίκιον Νείλου?
*Νόμου ἐποίκιον (Μέση)
Πέτνη? (Μέση)
Ϲεφώ (Θμοιϲεφώ)
Τακολκεῖλις? (Μέση)
Ταμπετεί? (Μέση)
Ταναΐς? (Μέση)
Τεξεί? (Μέση)

The worst damage runs down the middle of the sheet. Two large fragments of it survive, touching or nearly touching only in the area of i 11–12. Missing entirely are two pieces, one *c.* 2.5 × 10 cm, affecting lines 1–10, and another larger one, *c.* 7 × 12 cm, affecting 13–17 and 20. The sides look like the original edges, only slightly worn, of the piece as it was cut from the roll in the usual way. The wear at the top and bottom has been more severe, but the head and foot of the document are reasonably well preserved. There is a sheet join running vertically near the middle of the piece. The back is blank.

The date of the document must be not earlier than AD 307–8, when the pagi were created, see J. Lallemand, *L'Administration civile* 98. The handwriting, which runs parallel with the fibres on the recto, suggests that it falls within the first half of the fourth century.

[1] In XLV **3260** 3 the reading ϛ̄ was preferred to ζ̄ or χ̄, and a new check has confirmed that ϛ̄ is more suitable to the remains. The land which is the object of the lease was near Antipera Pela in the Western toparchy, so that γ̄ might have been expected. However, it is the lessor, not the lessee, who comes from Chute, so that on the one hand there is no strong ground for supposing that the two places were very near, and equally there is no proof that the third pagus and the sixth were not close together. The confusion over Seryphis, cf. 13 n., might allow the suggestion that they were.

col. i

ἐπὶ δὲ γ̄ ἀμίψ[εω]ϲ
τῶν μὴ χιρογρ[αφηϲά]ντων.
ᾱ– πάγου
ἐποικ(ίου) Κατι.[.....] α
γ– πάγου
ἐποικ(ίου) Καβαλλ[.....] α
δ ′ πάγου. Ὤφεω[ϲ] α
ϛ– πάγου
ἐποικ(ίου) Ὠνημέν[..] α
ἐποικ(ίου) Πλαντιάδ̣ος α
ἐποικ(ίου) Ἀμύντου α
ἐποικ(ίου) Πλελῶ α
Ϲερύφεωϲ [
Πανεϲνεὺϲ Ὡρίωνοϲ [
Παψόϊϲ Ἀΐ̈ωνοϲ [
Ϲιλβανὸϲ Μάννιτοϲ [
(vac.)
χιρογραφήϲαντεϲ καὶ [
τήϲαντεϲ
ᾱ– πάγου. Μερμέρθων γ[
Νεϲμίμεωϲ [α

col. ii

β ′ πά[γο]υ
Ϲα[δάλο]υ α
δ ′ πάγ[ο]ῳ
ἐπο[ικ(ίου)] Ἀχιλᾶ α
ζ– π[άγ]ου. Νόμου
ἐπ[οι]κ(ίου) α
ηϛ πάγου
Δωϲιθέου γ
(vac.)
ἄνδρεϲ κϛ ′ ′.

1 l. ἀμείψεωϲ 2 l. χειρογραφηϲάντων 4 εποικ, and so throughout 15 αϊωνοϲ 17 l. χειρογραφήϲαντεϲ

'For the 3rd commutation:
'Those who have not made contracts:
'1st pagus
Epoecium Cati . . . 1
3rd pagus
Epoecium Caball . . . 1
4th pagus
Ophis 1
6th pagus
Epoecium Onemen . . . 1
Epoecium Plantiados(?) 1
Epoecium Amyntu 1
Epoecium Plelo 1

	Seryphis	3(?)
	Panesneus son of Horion	
	Papsois son of Aion	
	Silvanus son of Mannis	
	'Those who have made contracts and have . . . ed:	
'1st pagus		
	Mermertha	3
	Nesmimis	1
2nd pagus		
	Sadalu	1
4th pagus		
	Epoecium Achila	1
7th pagus		
	Nomu Epoecium	1
8th pagus		
	Dositheu	3.'
	'(Total?) 20 men.'	

1–2 See introd. para. 1. There may be some more examples of 'commutation' in SPP XX 93.1, 5, 10, 15, as re-edited by R. S. Bagnall, *BASP* 20 (1983) 1–4. In that account it seems that four amounts first specified in barley are converted into wheat and added into the wheat total, see Bagnall, loc. cit., p. 3. What actually happened is not clear, but it may be that the taxpayer paid in a grain which was not the one prescribed. If the barley is overvalued, as Bagnall concludes, p. 3, this suggests that the tax was assessed in barley and that a penalty was exacted for paying in wheat. I suggest that the epsilon preceding the conversion into wheat is the phonetic equivalent of *αἵ* (sc. *εἰσι*), cf. WB s.v. *ὅς*, referring to P. Hib. I 14–15 *κριθ(ῶν) ληγ′*, *αἱ (πύρῶν) κγ*; *ὀλυρ(ῶν) ξ̄ξ̄ (ἥμισυ)*, *αἱ (πυρῶν) κ̄ζ̄*. The ensuing total is in artabas of wheat.

P. Beatty Panop. 2. 281 should probably be corrected to *φακῆς κατ'ἄμειψιν* (= *ἄμειψιν*) *πυροῦ* (instead of *ᾰ̣[χ]ύρου*), since in most cases wheat is the commodity originally prescribed, e.g. XXXVI **2766** 14–15, SPP XX 93.1, 5, 10, 15, SB V 7261 (= P. Princ. Roll). 7, 43, 91, 148, P. Cair. Isid. 47.44.

4 *Κατι*[. . . . .]. New. The space would accommodate up to five letters in the gap, but the name may have been shorter, cf. 6 n. and line 7.

6 *Καβαλλ*[. . . . .]. Again the name need not have filled the gap, cf. 4 n. and line 7.

7 It was not known before that Ophis fell in the fourth pagus, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 227–8.

9 *Ὠνημέν*[.]. Clearly this is a participle, 'bought'. We should supply a genitive ending, the gender and number of which remain uncertain.

10 *Πλαντιάδος*. New.

11 *Ἀμύντου*. New.

12 *ἐποίκ(ιον) Πλελῶ*. By AD 412 Plelo had been raised to the status of *κώμη*, see P. Mich. XI 611. In SB XII 10800, assigned to the third or fourth century, it has the feminine article (7), implying the word *κώμη*. That document is a letter with the initial formula *ἐν θεῷ χαίρειν*, which is certainly Christian, cf. M. Naldini, *Cristianesimo* pp. 12–13, and which therefore suggests a date after Constantine's recovery of Egypt in AD 324. The name *Συμεών* (13–14), which is likely to allude to the New Testament (Luke 2: 25–35) rather than the Old Testament, suggests that the letter is not earlier than the second half of the fourth century, cf. R. S. Bagnall, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 121.

It was not known that Plelo fell in the sixth pagus; it had been in the Middle toparchy. Tampetei went from the Middle toparchy into the seventh pagus (XIX **2233** 3), and Sepho from the Thmoesepho toparchy likewise (XLIV **3194** 5). From this Dr Zbigniew Borkowski has made the suggestion (unpublished) that the villages listed in VI **997** may all be of the seventh pagus. They are Epoecium Nilu (toparchy unknown), Tanais, Petne, Tacolceilis, Texei (all Middle), Sepho (Thmoesepho), Tampetei, Ieme (both Middle). Lines 25 6 below tell us that Nomu Epoecium, previously in the Middle toparchy, also went into the seventh pagus. So far, then, the evidence suggests that it was mainly the Middle toparchy which provided the territory of the sixth and seventh pagi, with at least Sepho coming into the seventh pagus from the Thmoesepho toparchy, although a minor difficulty for this theory arises immediately from the next line, see 13 n.

13 *Σερύφεως*. This place had been in the Western toparchy. There is little doubt that in VI **991** it is ascribed to the third pagus, not the sixth. The ed. pr. prints '. . . *Σερύφεως γ ο′* (*sic*, not *π(άγου)*) *τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ*'. A photograph of the papyrus, now in Princeton, shows that gamma is clear and that the supposed omicron is extremely tiny; in fact, it seems to be no more than a flourish or a hesitation at the foot of the rising oblique stroke marking out the numeral. Evidently *πάγου* should be supplied or understood. The third pagus seems to be more likely, since two other places from the Western toparchy entered the third pagus, see introduction, table. Cf. 12 n. above. If there is a mistake here, it may have arisen because our clerk or one of his colleagues read a gamma = 3 in place of digamma = 6, an understandable palaeographic error. There are other possibilities. An error might have arisen if the third pagus and the sixth were close together, or it might be that the boundary was reorganized and that Seryphis did in fact move from one to the other; compare the changes of pagus in the Hermopolite nome, see P. Charite p. 12 n. 3; cf. *JEA* 71 (1985) Reviews Supplement p. 70, s.vv. *Σεσόγχα*, *Σιναρχῆβις*. The date of **991** is AD 341, but we do not know whether **3795** is earlier or later than that.

13–16 It is not certain what to supply at the ends of the lines. The total number is obviously 3, but it may have taken the form of a gamma at the end of line 13 or alphas in each of 14–16.

16 *Μάννιτος* (gen.) is not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, but it may well be a phonetic variant of *Μάνης*, *Μάνεις*, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 57.

17–18 Restore perhaps *καὶ* [*μὴ ἀποκατας*]*τήσαντες*, '. . . and who have not delivered'? But this is a very long shot when we know so little about the process of *ἄμειψις*.

19–20 It is new information that Mermertha and Nesmimis were in the first pagus. Both had been in the Upper toparchy.

20 The restored [*α* is certain from the arithmetic.

22 *Σ̣α*[*δάλο*]*υ*. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 160, 236.

24 *Ἀχιλᾶ*. New; presumably the phonetic equivalent of the genitive of *Ἀχιλλᾶς*, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 16–18.

25–6 *Νόμου ἐπ*[*οι*]*κ(ίου)*. The pagus was not known; it is consistent with expectations, see 12 n.

28 *Δωσιθέου*. Cf. P. Pruneti, op. cit. 43, 237.

29 Before *ἄνδρες* we expect, if anything, *γ(ίνονται)*, 'total', but the ink looks more like a large botched alpha, perhaps a spoiled attempt at the initial of *ἄνδρες*.

3796. Contract of a Systates

83/8(a) 13 × 17 cm 10 December 412

The consular date clause, which is discussed in **3803** 1 n., provides the main interest of this fragment. In addition it seems necessary to restore the title of systates, so bringing the range of that official down from AD 396 to AD 412, see 3–4 n.

The contract concerns the year-long public service of a sailor on one of the Nile cutters of the *cursus uelox*, which carried official correspondence, cf. LI **3623** introduction. By comparison with other documents we can see that the official who had made the appointment acknowledges that he himself has now undertaken the responsibility for the public service and that he has received from his nominee the agreed sum of money, cf. LI **3622**, with P. Flor. I 39 and P. Harr. I 64, both revised in *CE* 46 (1971) 146–53. By implication the official will find a deputy to do the service in person and pay him from the money received from the nominee.

What remains is the upper right corner, probably about a quarter of the whole document, showing part of the top margin and the ends of the first twelve lines, written along the fibres. No sheet join is visible. The back is blank, so far as it is preserved.

ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Ὁν]ωρίου τὸ θ′ καὶ Θεοδοσίου τὸ ϵ,
(vac.)] *Χοίακ ιδ′′.*
*c.*25 letters] *ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πό-*
λεως, cυcτάτης τῆς νυνὶ λειτου]ρ̣γούcης φυλῆς Δρόμου Γυμνα-
cίου καὶ ἄλλων ἀμφόδων,] Ἀὐρηλίῳ Δημητρίῳ υἱῷ Παρίωνος
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως τῆς αὐτῆ]ς φυλῆς χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ cυν-
*ηλλαχέναι c.*10 letters]. [.]. [.]. *υτον ἀναδεδέχθαι τὴν ἐγχειρις-*
θεῖcάν coι ὑπ'ἐμοῦ ἐνια]υ̣cίαν λιτουργίαν εἰc χώραν ἁλιαδίτου
ἤτοι γραμματηφόρου τοῦ ὀξ]έ̣ως δρόμ̣ου τ̣ῷ̣ ἀπὸ νεομη-
νίας Θὼθ ἕως Μεcορὴ ἐπαγο]μ̣έ̣[νων] π̣έμ̣πτης καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς
πέμπτης τοῦ ἐνεcτῶτος ἔτο]υ̣c π̄θ̄η′ τῆς παρούcης ἐνδε-
κάτης ἰνδικτίωνος 6–8]. [.] *ὁμολ̣ο̣[.]. ἀπεcχηκέ̣ν̣[α]ι̣*

5 *νϊῶ* 8 l. *λειτουργίαν*

'In the consulship of our masters Honorius for the 9th time and Theodosius for the 5th time, Choeac 14.'

'Aurelius . . . from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, systates of the tribe now providing public service, (namely) of Gymnasium Street and of other districts, to Aurelius Demetrius son of Parion from the same city, of the same tribe, greetings. I acknowledge that I have contracted (with you upon the condition that I myself?) have undertaken the responsibility for the year-long public service entrusted to you by me in the place of a sailor on the cutters or letter-carrier of the *cursus uelox* from the first of Thoth(?) until Mesore, fifth intercalary day, including the same fifth, of the current year 89, 58, the present eleventh indiction . . . (and I acknowledge?) that I have received . . .'

1–2 See **3803** 1 n. The beginning of 2 must have been blank, cf. e.g. L **3599**, **3600**.

3–4 No name can be restored, although it is probable that the status indication *Αὐρήλιος* will account for eight of the *c.*25 lost letters, leaving *c.*17 for the name with patronymic or alias. The latest known systates is Aurelius Hierax son of Horus of AD 396 (P. Flor. I 39 = W. *Chr.* 405, revised in *CE* 46 (1971) 146–9), see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Services* 48. The comparison of **3796** with that document and with LI **3622** justifies restoring the title here in 4 and bringing the office of systates down to AD 412. On the systates in general see P. Mertens, *Les Services de l'état civil* 30–47, N. Lewis, loc. cit.

6–7 After *cυν]ηλλαχέναι* we might restore *πρὸc cέ* (W. *Chr.* 405.5–6) or *coι* (LI **3622** 8). Next we expect something like *ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμαυτὸν ἀναδεδέχθαι*. The traces favour]. [.] *ἑ*[*μ*]*αυτόν*, but the unread trace looks like the top of sigma or epsilon again. Restore perhaps *ἐπὶ τῷ μ*]*ὲ*[*ν*] *ἑ*[*μ*]*αυτόν*, not necessarily implying a balancing *δέ*.

8 *ἐνια*]*υ̣cίαν*. This adjective may be of three terminations or of two. In LI **3622** 9 *ἐ*]*γιαύ*[*cιο*]*ν* was restored from PSI I 86.10, but we now see that *ἐ*]*γιαυ*[*cία*]*ν* is equally possible. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 112. Scanty though they are, the traces will not fit *δημοσίαν*.

9 *τῷ̣ν*. Cf. XXXIII **2675** 10, XXXIV **2715** 10.

10 The restoration of *Θώθ* is arbitrary. However, XXXIII **2675**, dated 15 January 318, is a nomination to the same service for the period 29 August 317 to 28 August 318. Here the date of the document is 10 December. It seems worth envisaging the possibility that in most cases the physical service on the boats was done by professional sailors and the persons nominated in the documents were residents of Oxyrhynchus who were obliged to pay the expenses, that is the salaries of the sailors. The late dates may suggest that the officials had difficulty in extracting the money from the citizens, or it may be equally likely that the connection between the physical service and these payments loosened until the payments became just another tax, so that the officials could allow time to elapse. However, the ideal date does appear in some of the nominations (PSI X 1108; 29 August 381) and substitution contracts (P. Flor. I 39; 29 August 396) for this service, cf. XXXIV **2715** (29 August 386) for service on boats of a different sort, the *πλοῖα πλατυπήγια*.

11 Oxyrhynchite era year 89 and 58 coincides with the eleventh indiction running from 29 August 412 to 28 August 413, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 80, cf. 13 n. 10. Since the indiction is here described as 'present', the date clause in lines 1–2 converts to 10 December 412. For discussion see **3803** 1 n.

12 Restore probably *ὁμολο*[*γ*]*ῶ*. Before that the high trace rather suggests *ϵ*[*αί*], although]*ϵ*[.] or]*ϛ*[.] might be better and *καί* would certainly have been much more cramped than it was in 10. For P. Flor. I 39.9 I suggested something like *διὰ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἀπεcχη*]*κέναι* (*CE* 46 (1971) 149), but it now seems likely that it had whatever was here, perhaps *καὶ ὁμολογῶ ἀπεcχηκέναι*. In both places there remains a lacuna of 5 to 8 letters to be supplemented before *καί*(?).

3797. Receipt for Taxes in Gold Coin

53 1B.26(F)/D(10)c 15 × 21 cm 26 April–25 May 624

Another item from the period of the last Persian occupation of Egypt, like LI **3637**, this too concerns Marinus the *scholasticus* and the highly placed Persian with the name or title of Saralaneozan. In **3637**, of 19(?) October 623, the unnamed writer acknowledged receipt from Marinus of 3,962 gold solidi for the first instalment of the twelfth indiction. Instructions had been issued about this matter by (the?) Saralaneozan and the money was to be sent to the Persian 'king of kings'. Related to **3637** and in the same hand is XVI **1843** of 6 November, which acknowledged receipt of a further 2,016 solidi for the same instalment of the same indiction, divided into equal parts, 1,008 solidi for Oxyrhynchus and 1,008 for Cynopolis. The present document is a receipt for a payment by Marinus of 5,040 solidi for the third instalment of the same indiction, dated April/May 624. They are specified as being 'for a part of the state taxes in gold', *ὑ*(*πὲρ*) *μέρου*(*c*) *χρυcικ*(*ὼν*) *δημο*(*cίων*), and divided into two parts, 4,032 solidi for Oxyrhynchus and 1,008 for Cynopolis. These are large sums, but again we cannot draw detailed conclusions from the figures, see **3637** introduction last paragraph (p. 102).

For a new article on papyri from the Persian occupation see L. S. B. MacCoull, *Studi classici e orientali* 36 (1986) 307–13.

The writing runs across the fibres of the recto of a piece cut from a roll, with a single sheet join *c.* 15 cm from the top running horizontally below line 6. The sheet

with lines 1-6 overlaps the one with 7-9, so that the right hand edge would have been the top if the roll had been used in the traditional way. The piece was rolled up from the foot, as can be seen from the pattern of damage and from nine horizontal folds dividing it into ten panels which diminish in height towards the foot. The top is torn; probably there was one more panel, which may well have been blank on both sides and will not have been taller than *c.* 2.5 cm. On the back of the topmost fold there is an endorsement of one line, apparently in a second hand. The bottom edge looks like the original cut except for wear. The wear is more severe at the sides but the losses to the text are not great. If we allow for the wear, it looks as if the roll from which this piece was cut may have had a format similar to those which supplied XVI **1843** and LI **3637**, see introduction there. That is, it could have been about 18.5 cm tall, like **1843**, which is well preserved.

† παρῆcχε(ν) Μαρῖνος ὁ ἐνδοξ(ότατος) (καὶ) cοφ[(ώτατος)
cχολ(αcτικὸc) τὰ δ(ιὰ) Μηνᾶ τοῦ περιβλ(έπτου) χρυcών[ου
ὑ(πὲρ) μέρου(c) χρυcικ(ῶν) δημο(cίων) Ὀξυρύγχω(ν) (καὶ) Κυνῶν[
τρίτης καταβολῆ(c) δωδεκά(τηc) ἰνδ(ικτίωνοc) νο(μίcματα) /εμ[,
(ὧν) [ὑ](πὲρ) μὲν Ὀξυρύγχω(ν) νο(μίcματα) /δλβ (καὶ) ὑ(πὲρ)
Κυνῶν νο(μίcματα) /[αη,
γί(νεται) τὰ αὐτ(ὰ) νο(μίcματα) /εμ μό(να), νομ(ίcματ)α
πεντακιcχί[λια
τεccαράκοντα μό(να). ἐγράφ(η) μη(νὶ) Παχ[ὼν . .
τ[ῆc αὐ]τ(ῆc) δωδεκά(τηc) ἰνδ(ικτίωνοc) χειρ(ὶ) ἐμ(ῇ) . .μα[. . .
]. . ο. . ( ) τὰ τοῦ πανευφ(ήμου) Caραλανεοζᾶ[ν.

Back, along the fibres:

(m. 2)] ὑ(πὲρ) μέρου(c) γ́ καταβ(ολῆc) ιβ [ἰ]νδ(ικτίωνοc)
νο(μίcματα) /εμ ὑ(πὲρ) Ὀξυρύ(γχων) κ[αὶ Κυνῶν.

1 παρηcχ$^{\epsilon}$, ενδοξ/ʃ 2 c$^{\lambda}_{\eta}$χ, δ/, περιβ$^{\lambda}$ 3 υ/μερ/ (with ου(c) above the line in monogram) χρυcι$^{\kappa}$/δημ$^{o}_{o}$οξυρυγχ$^{\omega}_{\omega}$ʃ 4 καταβολδωδεκ$^{\alpha}$/ἰνδ/$^{o}_{ν}$ 5 ⌞[υ]/, οξυρυγχ$^{\omega o}_{\omega}$, ʃυ/, $^{o}_{ν}$ 6 γι/, αυ$^{τo}_{τ}$ν, $^{o}_{μ}$//νομ$^{\alpha}_{\alpha}$ 7 $^{o}_{μ}$//εγραφ/μ$^{\eta}_{\eta}$ 8 αυ]$^{τ}_{τ}$δωδεκ$^{\alpha}_{\alpha}$/ινδ/χειρ/ε/μ 9]. . ο. . /, πανευφ/ 10 υ/μερ/ (with ου(c) above the line in monogram), καταβ (the superscription over beta is not clear), [ι]νδ//$^{o}_{ν}$, υ/οξυ$^{υ}_{ρ}$/κ[

'Marinus the most glorious and most wise *scholasticus* has delivered the sol. 5,040 (collected?) through Menas the admirable *chrysones* in respect of part of the state taxes in gold for Oxyrhynchus and Cynopolis

for the third instalment of the twelfth indiction; of which sol. 4,032 (are) in respect of Oxyrhynchus, and sol. 1,008 in respect of Cynopolis. Total: the same sol. 5,040 only: solidi five thousand and forty only. Written in the month of Pachon (day) of the same twelfth indiction, by the hand of me . . . . . the all-praiseworthy Saralancozan.'

Back. 2nd hand. 'In respect of part of the 3rd instalment of the 12th indiction, sol. 5,040 for Oxyrhynchus and Cynopolis.'

1 *παρῆcχε(ν)*. For the anomalous augment see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 231(5), B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 121 (§265.6), cf. 153 (§317.19), with references.

1–2 *Μαρῖνοc ὁ ἐνδοξ(ότατοc)* (*καὶ*) *cοφ[(ώτατοc)] cχολ(αcτικόc)*. Cf. LI **3637** 20 n., for other documents connected with Marinus. The Marinus of XVI **1864** was not described as a *scholasticus*, but only as *Μαρίνῳ τῷ ἐνδοξ(οτάτῳ)*, line 14. The same title here strengthens the case for the identification.

2 *τὰ δ(ιὰ) Μηνᾶ*. Without *τά* the meaning would clearly be that Marinus gave the money to Menas to deliver to the recipient. But *τά* suggests rather that the money came in first to Menas, passed from him to Marinus, who on this occasion sent it further on its journey to the 'king of kings'.

χρυcών[ου. I doubt if we should accept the existence of a parallel nominative form *χρυcών* from the nominative plural *χρυcῶνεc* found only in Justinian Ed. XI ch. 2 init. In P. Lips. I 102.7 *χρυcωνι* is probably a phonetic writing of *χρυcώνῃ*.

This official seems to have been a subordinate of the *comes sacrarum largitionum*, receiving taxes in gold due to that department, see W. *Gdz.* 164–5; cf. A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* 174; in general A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* i 427–37, esp. 432 on the 'provincial gold-buyer' (P. Lips. I 62). Presumably his function would continue under the Persians with as little disturbance as possible, with the proceeds going to the 'king of kings'.

3 *χρυcικ(ῶν) δημο(cίων)*. This seems to be a general description which would have covered all state taxes payable in gold coin, cf. A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* 305, 320. The presence of the *chrysones* may limit it to those payable to the department of the *largitiones*, see 2 n.

For the association of the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite areas cf. XVI **1909** 3, LI **3636** 2 n. (p. 100).

/[αη. The surviving figures allow the calculation: 5,040 (4, 6–7) − 4,032 (5) = 1,008. In XVI **1843** the sum of 2,016 solidi is divided between the two areas equally, 1,008 each, but it is not clear what the recurrence of this figure indicates. That consignment was for the first of the three instalments of this same year, while this consignment is for the third.

7 *Παχ[ών*. Or possibly read *Παχώ(ν)*; there is a very slight and faint trace above the chi, which probably comes from the chi of *πεντακιχί[λια* above, but which could be from a raised omega. The day number will have followed.

8 *τ[ῆc αὐ]τ(ῆc)*. At the beginning is a trace of a long descender; after the gap is the end of a horizontal from a raised letter, cf. 6 *αὐτ(ά)*.

χειρ(ὶ) ἐμ(ῇ) seems to be the usual expression, cf. *WB* col. 728 s.v. *χείρ* (2), but *χ. ἐμ(οῦ)* may be possible, see trans. For *ἐμ(οῦ)* we might have expected to have *ου* as a raised monogram, see app. crit. 3, 10.

8–9 *. .μα[. . .]|. . ο. . ( )*. We need the name of the writer, presumably not Marinus but the recipient or a notary or secretary, e.g. *Θωμᾶ* (perhaps more acceptable than *Ῥωμᾶ[νοῦ*). After that what is expected is some sort of title, but it would be good to have it in the form of a participle to govern the following *τὰ τοῦ . . . Caραλανεοζᾶ[ν*, as for example *διοικοῦντοc*, 'administering the affairs of . . . S.'. In 9 the first trace indicated may be illusory; it is very faint and very close to the next letter, which is either beta or kappa. Omicron is certain. The next is small and rather high, most likely alpha or upsilon, and the last trace is a long descender cut by the oblique rising to the right which marks some abbreviations. Iota looks best. It does not seem possible to read *διοι-*]|*[ᵍκοῦντ(οc)*.

I have tried to read *Θωμᾶ [cυμ-*]|*[ᵍβολαι(ογράφου)*, cf. XVI **1864** 13 *Θωμᾶc cύμ[μαχ(οc)*?, but the traces will not suit, and the following phrase would still hang in the air.

9 *Caραλανεοζᾶ[ν*. Cf. LI **3637** 14 n., which can now be greatly augmented thanks to the kindness of Dr K. A. Worp. He has drawn my attention by letter (11 March 1985) to *JJP* 15 (1965) 423–4, where I. F. Fikhman summarized in English a Russian publication of fourteen Pahlavi papyri by A. G. Perikhanian, *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 77 (1961) Part 3, pp. 78–93. One of the fragments of No. 13 contains a Persian expression which she viewed as a name and transliterated as Šahrālānyozān (p. 89). She referred to other Pahlavi documents mentioning the same man and proposed seeing his name again in BGU II 377.1, correcting *Caραλακεοξαν* to *Caραλανεοξαν* (p. 88). This correction has not appeared in BL. Dr Poethke

confirmed my suggestion, *Ϲαραλανεοζᾶν*, from the original, see **3637** 14 n., and this is corroborated by the other papyri (**3637**, **3797**, SPP X 251, see below) and by the transliteration offered by Perikhanian.

Whether the expression is really a name, as she suggests, or a title, as Dr Ilya Gershevitch tentatively argued in **3637** 14 n., remains in doubt. The Pahlavi and the Greek papyri evidently refer to the same important Persian official.

Dr Worp has also acutely seen that the expression occurs twice again in SPP X 251(a).9 and (b).10, where the first edition has *ϹαραπιωνʃΟζων* in both places. At his request Dr J. Gascou kindly inspected the papyrus in the Louvre and read (a).9 as *Ϲαραλ[αν]εοζᾶν* and (b).10 as *Ϲαραλανεοζᾶν*. In (a).2 he reads *Ϲαραλαν( ) μη(νῶν) β Ἀθ⟨ὺ⟩ρ (καὶ) Χοιάκ* [. This papyrus, like BGU II 377, is said to come from the Arsinoite nome, suggesting again that this Persian official exercised power in both the Arsinoite and the Oxyrhynchite nomes.

Finally, Dr Worp recognized the same man in the *πανευφ(ήμου) Ϙραλαϙϲϙξαν* of O. Petrie 421.5 (J. G. Tait, *Greek Ostraca* i p. 147), and suggested that O. Petrie 424 had a similar text. I am grateful to Mrs Barbara Adams of the Flinders Petrie Museum for making these items available while the museum was closed for renovation and to Dr Walter Cockle of University College London for inspecting them on my behalf. Dr Cockle confirms that 421.4–5 may be read *γραμμ(ατεῖ) τοῦ πανευφ(ήμου) Ϛαραλανεοζᾶν*, as suggested by Dr Worp, although *Ϛα-* is oddly written. In 424.7 he can see the predicted *γραμμ(ατεῖ) τοῦ πανευφ(ήμου) Ϲα-*. At the beginning of line 8 the ink has disappeared completely, but the continuation [*ραλανεοζᾶν*] can be restored with virtual certainty. As a consequence of this identification the archive of Theopemptus and Zacharias, containing nearly sixty ostraca, see O. Bodl. II 2120 introd. (J. G. Tait, C. Préaux, *Greek Ostraca* ii p. 372), is assigned by Dr Worp to the Persian period. The provenance may be Hermonthis, see O. Ashm. 96 (J. G. Tait, *Greek Ostraca* i p. 79). Dr Helen Whitehouse kindly informs me that the whole of the group formed by O. Ashm. 96–101 was presented to the Ashmolean Museum by Greville Chester, in whose notes two items (O. Ashm. 96 and 100) can be identified as having been bought at Armant, ancient Hermonthis. There is therefore some presumption, though no certainty, that the archive came originally from the Thebaid. If it did, this shows a new and wider range for the influence of Saralaneozan.

II. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

3798. Return of Loan

74/60(a) 10 × 34.5 24–8 August 144

The main interest of this papyrus lies in its connection with the legalities affecting the families of auxiliary veterans. A loan of three hundred drachmas at annual interest of twelve per cent had been made in the period 28 September to 27 October 142, about twenty-two months before the date of the present document, by the wife of the veteran C. Veturius Gemellus, who is known from VII **1022** (= R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records* 87) to have been enrolled into the *cohors III* (or *II*) *Ituraeorum* at the age of twenty-one early in AD 103. He subscribed here on behalf of his daughter in lines 43–9, so he was still alive at the age of about sixty-two. His wife, however, had died between 28 September 142 and 28 August 144, and the return of the loan was acknowledged by her two children, who were another C. Veturius Gemellus, already known from VII **1035** of February 143, and a daughter called Lucia Veturia alias Thermuthion. These two declared that their mother had died intestate and that they were her only children and heirs, *αὐτῆϲ μόνα τέκνα καὶ κληρονόμα* (26–7).

Some care has been taken to describe the civil status of the parents. The father on his first appearance is called 'a veteran whose name is engraved', *οὐετραν[οῦ] ἐνκεχαραγμένου*, see 4 n. The status of the mother is defined in a notable phrase, *περιούϲῃ εἰϲ τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥώμηϲ χαλκῆν ϲτήλην*, see 8–9 n. Since she is described immediately before as 'deceased', *μετηλλαχυίῃ* (5), this appears to mean, 'who survives (i.e. whose name survives) on the bronze stele at Rome'. Evidently she had been named in the grant of citizenship and *conubium* made to her husband on his discharge. The wife in these cases did not receive citizenship; rather her veteran husband received with his citizenship the right of *conubium* with her as a peregrine, cf. M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet, *REL* 55 (1977) 288 and n. 5.

The status of the children is more doubtful. We know from **1035** that the father was a veteran by February 143 and that the son was then old enough to enter into a legal contract without a guardian. Knowing further from **1022** that the father had enlisted in 103 we would suppose that his discharge is hardly likely to have fallen so late as 140, when Pius deprived auxiliary veterans of their privilege of receiving citizenship for the children born during their service, see H. Nesselhauf, *Historia* 8 (1959) 434–42, H. Wolff, *Chiron* 4 (1974) 481, M. M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas* (1954–77) 65 (No. 39 n. 6), M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet, *REL* 55 (1977) 287–9, S. Link, *ZPE* 63 (1986) 185–92, cf. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas* (1978–84) 157 (No. 94 n. 5), ead. in W. Eck, H. Wolff (edd.), *Heer und Integrationspolitik: Die röm. Militärdiplome als historische Quelle* 265–92, J. B. Campbell, *The Emperor and the Roman Army* 439–445. Pius brought in a similar, but less stringent, limitation of the privileges of veterans of

the fleet some years later, roughly between 152 and 158, see N. Hanel, *Bonn. Jahrb.* 185 (1985) 89–95, esp. 93. On the stages of the process of acquiring citizenship as a veteran see M. Absil, Y. Le Bohec, *Latomus* 44 (1985) 855–70.

There are exceptional terms of service as long as forty-five years on record, see **3785** introduction paragraph 2, so it is possible that long service by the father led to the unfortunate result that his children did not receive citizenship, being among the first to be affected by the change in the regulations. The son's *tria nomina* give no assurance that he was a citizen, see especially H. C. Youtie in *Le Monde Grec* (*Hommages . . . Préaux*) 737–8 (= id. *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* i 31–2). The same evidently applies to the Roman elements of the daughter's nomenclature.

It still seems more likely than not that the daughter and the son were Roman citizens. However, in Roman law children did not inherit from a mother who died intestate until after the *senatus consultum Orfitianum* of AD 178, see M. Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht* i 702, J. F. Gardner, *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 12.4 (Apr. 1987) 52, cf. W. L. Westermann, A. A. Schiller, *Apokrimata* 71, whereas in Egyptian law this was the normal practice, see R. Taubenschlag, *Law*² 184, citing especially P. Yale inv. 222, 225 (*YClS* 4 (1934) 136–40), cf. E. Seidl, *Rechtsgeschichte Ägyptens als römischer Provinz* 224–6. It is also Egyptian practice that the surviving spouse has no claim, see H.-A. Rupprecht, *BASP* 22 (1985) 291–5.

In fact, it is clear that these persons had inherited under Egyptian law. Either they were not citizens, because of the change of regulations in 140, or it was perfectly regular practice that the citizen children of a veteran should inherit from their peregrine mother under the provisions of peregrine law. Since the first alternative requires us to assume exceptionally long service, about thirty-seven years at least, for the father, I am inclined to argue for the second, which seems to accord well with the Roman habit of making no change in local customs without strong reasons of expediency.

The writing runs along the fibres in the usual way. No sheet-join is visible. On the back there is an isolated endorsement of one word, although it is possible that in the more damaged areas another endorsement could have been lost. Unusually the document seems to have been rolled up with the left edge inside, to judge from the discoloration and damage, which is more severe on the right.

Γ̣άϊος [Οὐετούριος] Γέμε[λλος καὶ Λου-
κία Οὐε̣[τουρία] ἡ̣ κ̣α̣ὶ̣ Θερμ̣[ούθ]ι̣[ον
ἀμφότεροι Γ[αΐ]ου Οὐετουρίου Γεμέλ-
λου οὐετραν[οῦ] ἐνκεχαραγμένου̣
5 σὺν τῇ ἑα̣υ̣τ̣[ῶ]ν μετηλλαχυίῃ
μητρὶ Ἀρτέμειτι Εὐδαίμονος
τοῦ Εὐδαίμονος μητρὸς Θερμου-
θίο̣υ̣ περιούσῃ εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥ̣ώμης
χαλκῆν στήλην, ἡ δὲ Λουκ̣ία Οὐε̣τ̣ο̣υ̣-
10 ρία ἡ καὶ Θερμούθιον μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ
αὐτῆς τε καὶ τοῦ Οὐετουρίου Γεμέ̣λ̣λ̣ο̣υ̣
πατρὸς Γαΐου Οὐετουρίου Γεμέλλου, Ἐπι-
μάχῳ Ἐπιμάχου τοῦ Ἐπιμάχου
μητρὸς Τα̣τε̣ῶ̣τ̣ο̣ς ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων
15 πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολ[ογ]ῶ ἀ[π]έχει̣ν̣
παρὰ σοῦ διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ̣ [πρ]ὸ̣ς Ὀ̣ξ̣[υ]ρ̣ύ̣γ-
χων πόλει Σαραπείου Ἀγάθο̣υ̣ Δ̣αίμο-
νος καὶ μετόχων τραπέζης ἀρχ̣[υ]ρ̣ί̣-
ου δραχμὰς τριακοσίας κεφαλαίου̣
20 καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Ἁθὺρ τοῦ διελθ[ό]ν̣τ̣ο̣ς
ἔτους μέχρι̣ τ̣ῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡ̣-
μέρας τούτων̣ δ̣ρ̣αχμιαί̣[ο]υ̣ς τόκου̣ς,
τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιο̣ν̣ δανεισθέν σο̣ι
ὑπὸ τῆς μητ[ρ]ὸς ἡμῶν Ἀ[ρ]τ̣έμει-
25 τος—ἧς τελευτ̣ησά̣σης ἀδιαθέτο̣υ̣,
προφερόμεθα εἶναι αὐτῆς μό-
να τέκνα καὶ κληρονόμα—κατὰ χει-
ρόγραφον διὰ τραπέζης τῷ Φαῶφ[ι
μηνὶ τοῦ αὐτο̣ῦ διελθόντ̣ο̣ς ἔ̣τ̣ο̣υ̣ς
30 ὃ καὶ ἀνεδώκ̣αμέν̣ σ̣[ο]ι̣ εἰς ἀκύρω-
σιν καὶ μηδέ̣ν̣ σοι ἐνκαλε̣[ῖ]ν̣ μη-
δὲ τοῖς παρὰ σ̣οῦ περὶ μηδενὸς
ἁπλῶς μέχ̣ρ̣ι τῆς ἐνεστώσης

4 l. ἐγκεχαραγμένου 6 l. Ἀρτέμιτι 15 l. ὁμολογοῦμεν 24 5 l. Ἀρτέμιτος
31 l. ἐγκαλεῖν

ἡμέρας. κυρ[ί]α ἡ ἀποχή. (ἔτους) ζ
Αὐτοκράτορ[ο]ς Καίσαρος Τ[ίτου Αἰλίου
Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστ[οῦ
Εὐσεβοῦς, Μεσορὴ ἐπαχο(μένων)
(m. 2) Γάϊος Οὐετούριος Γέμ[ελ]λος
ἀπέχω σὺν τῇ ἀδελφ[ῇ] μου
τὰς δραχμὰς τριακ[ο]σίας
κα[ὶ τ]ο[ὺ]ς τ[ό]κ[ο]υς καὶ [οὐδ]ὲν
ἐνκαλῶ ὡς [πρ]όκειται.
(m. 3) Λουκία Οὐετου[ρί]α ἡ καὶ Θερμ[ού]θιον θυ-
γάτηρ Γαΐου [Οὐε]τουρίου Γεμ[έ]λλου
οὐετρανοῦ σ[υ]ναπέσχον ὡς πρόκειται.
Γάϊος Οὐετούριος Γέμελλο[σ ο]ὐετρανὸς
ἐπιγέγραμμαι τῆς θυγατρός μου κύριος
καὶ ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μ[ὴ] εἰδυίης
γράμματα. (m. 4) Ἐπίμαχο[ς] νεώτε-
ρος Ἐπιμάχου τοῦ Ἐπιμάχου εὐδοκῶ.
Εὐδαίμων πρεσβύτερος Πε̣ς̣[ο]ύριος ἔγρα-
ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότο[σ γ]ράμματα.
(m. 5) ἔτους ἑβδόμου Αὐτοκράτο[ρος] Καίσαρ[ος
Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνίν[ου
Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς, ἐπαγο(μένων) ¯, διὰ
Ἀγάθου Δαίμονος τοῦ .... τρα(πεζ-)
ἡ διαγραφή.

Back, downwards along the fibres, near the foot:

Ἐπιμαχ( )

34 ⌊ζ 37 ε̣π̣αχ°. ? 42 l. ἐγκαλῶ 55 επαγ°¯ 56 τρα) 58 επιμαˣ

'C. Veturius Gemellus and Lucia Veturia alias Thermuthion, both children of C. Veturius Gemellus, veteran whose name is engraved, in association with their deceased mother Artemis, daughter of Eudaemon son of Eudaemon and of Thermuthion, who survives on the bronze stele at Rome, (Lucia Veturia alias Thermuthion having as guardian C. Veturius Gemellus the father both of herself and of Veturius Gemellus), to Epimachus son of Epimachus grandson of Epimachus, whose mother is Tateos(?), from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, greetings.'

'We acknowledge that we receive back from you through the bank of Agathus Daemon and partners at the Serapeum at the city of the Oxyrhynchi three hundred drachmas of money, being capital, and the interest on these of a drachma (per mina per month) from Hathyr of the past year up to the present day,

the capital having been lent to you by our mother Artemis – since she died intestate, we declare that we are her only children and heirs—in accordance with a chirograph through a bank (dated) in the month of Phaophi of the same past year, which we delivered to you for cancellation, and that we have no claim against you or your agents about anything whatsoever up to the present day. The receipt is normative. Year seven of Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Mesore intercalary day . . .'

(2nd hand) 'I, C. Veturius Gemellus, receive back, along with my sister, the three hundred drachmas and the interest and I have no claim, as aforesaid.'

(3rd hand) I, Lucia Veturia alias Thermuthion, daughter of C. Veturius Gemellus veteran, jointly received back, as aforesaid. I, C. Veturius Gemellus veteran, have been registered as guardian of my daughter and I wrote on her behalf because she does not know letters.'

(4th hand) I, Epimachus the younger, son of Epimachus grandson of Epimachus, give my assent. I, Eudaemon the elder, son of Pesuris(?), wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters.'

(5th hand) 'Seventh year of Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, intercalary day . . . The draft (is) through Agathus Daemon . . .'

Back: '. . . Epimachus.'

1–4 See introd. for what is known of these persons. For the cohorts *II* and *III Ituraeorum*, in one of which the veteran served, see E. Dąbrowa, *ZPE* 63 (1986) 228–30.

4 *οὐετραν[οῦ] ἐνκεχαραγμένου* (l. *ἐγκ-*). This expression seems to be new, but cf. W. *Chr.* 463 iii 1–2 . . . *u]eteranorum cum uxoribus et liberis s(upra) s(criptis) in aere incisi*, 15 . . . *natos* . . . *in aere incisos*; P. Hamb. I 31 (S. Daris, *Documenti per la storia dell'esercito* No. 90). 8–11 *ἐπέδειξε ὁ προγεγραμμένος Ἀντᾶς [δ]έλτον χαλκῆν ἧς τὸ ἀντίγραφον πρόκειται, δι'ἧς δηλοῦται ἐνκεχαράχθαι* (l. *ἐγκ-*) *σὺν τέκνοις καὶ γυναικί*. Cf. 8–9 n.

5 *μετηλλαχυίᾳ*. Cf. 48 *εἰδυίης*; F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 132–3.

6 *Ἀρτέμειτι* (l. *-μιτι*). Cf. 24–5 *Ἀ[ρ]τέμειτος* (l. *-μιτος*); F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 55.

8–9 *περιούσῃ εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης χαλκῆν στήλην*. Cf. introd. on *περιούσῃ*. The allusion to the veteran privilege of *conubium* with a 'wife' is clear. After AD 90 the formula of the auxiliary diplomas always states that they were copied '*ex tabula aenea quae fixa est Romae in Capitolio in muro post templum Diui Augusti ad Mineruam*', cf. S. Dušanić, 'Loci constitutionum fixarum', *Epigraphica* 46 (1984) 91–115.

14 *Τατεῶτος* is far from certain.

15 *ὁμολ[ογ]ῶ*. We expect the plural, but space and the final trace both favour the singular form, which no doubt came more readily to the clerk's mind.

16–18 On the Serapeum bank see A. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 260–1. The banker Agathus Daemon is not recorded there or in subsequent volumes of P. Oxy.

22 *δραχμα[ο]υς τόκους*. This is the usual rate in the Roman period, equal to twelve per cent per annum; for detail see H. E. Finckh, *Zinsrecht* (Diss. Erlangen 1962) 27–38.

25–7 Cf. P. Yale Inv. 222(A) 5–12; 225(B) 17–25 (*YClS* 4 (1934) 136–9) *μητρός . . . τετελευτηκυίης ἀδιαθέτου . . . ἐπ'ἐμοί* (B *ἐπί τε τῷ πατρί μου*) . . . *καί . . . τοῖς τέσσαρσι μόνοις τέκνοις καὶ κληρονόμοις*, with introduction above paragraph 5.

37 The traces at the end are very faint, but seem to conform with the text of 55 below.

42 There may be further writing at the end of this line. Nothing more is expected.

48 *εἰδυίης*. Cf. 5 n.

51 *Πες[ο]ύριος* is suitable but far from certain.

55 The day number must be from 1 to 5 = 24–8 August 144. Only gamma (= 3 = 26 August) seems excluded by the trace.

56 Read possibly *τοῦ ςὺν ᾱ[λ(λοις)] τρα(πεζίτου)*, cf. 17–18 *Ἀ.Δ. καὶ μετόχων*, I **91** (AD 187) 8–10 *διὰ Ἡλιοδώρου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπιτηρητῶν τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ὀξ.πολ. Σαραπείου τραπέζης*, LII **3690** 20 *τῷ σὺν ἄλλοις ἐπιτηρητῇ . . .*, *ὁ σὺν ἄλλο(ις) ὑποχό(μενος)*.

57 On the bank-draft (*διαγραφή*) see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der gr. Papyri Ägyptens* ii 95–105.

58 This notation is strangely isolated near the foot. The small sample of writing is not certainly identifiable with hands one to five. It looks nearest to m. 4, the subscription on behalf of Epimachus. Against this is our expectation that this document, like **1022** and **1035**, will have belonged to the family of the veteran and not to the other party to the loan.

3799. Oracle Question

38 3B.85/D(1–3)a 7 × 7 cm Second/third century

The latest short summary of the background of oracle questions, with a collection of references, is by G. Rosati in PSI XVII Congresso (= M. Manfredi, *Trenta testi greci . . . editi in occasione del XVII Congresso, 1983*) 14 introduction, cf. Nos. 20–1, similar Christian texts edited by L. Papini, who has also described some new Coptic examples in *Acts of the Second International Congress of Coptic Studies* (Rome 1985) 245–55. Add P. Mon. III 117, P. Heid. IV 335, and literature cited by their editor, D. Hagedorn, and eight more examples in A. S. Aly, *ZPE* 68 (1987) 99–104. For the latest survey of the demotic material see E. Bresciani (and others), *Egitto e vicino oriente* 2 (1979) 57–68, esp. 64–8.

This example is unusual in not mentioning the name of the god, who is addressed simply as 'lord'. The known possibilities at Oxyrhynchus are Zeus-Helius-Sarapis (VIII **1148**, **1149**, IX **1213**, XXXI **2613**, XLII **3078**), and Thonis (P. Köln IV 202, L **3590**). The minor gods Harpebecis and Harpocrates, who are associated with Thonis, and with the goddess Thoëris, in PSI XVII Congresso 14, are less likely candidates here.

The question is about the prospect of success in a bid to gain a government contract for collecting a 2½% tax. This is intriguing, but it does not add much to the little that is known about tax farming in Roman Egypt, on which see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 288–9.

The script, which runs along the fibres, is small, neat, and fairly rapid. It probably belongs to the second or early third century. The back of the chit is blank. No sheet join is visible.

κύριε, εἰ συνφέρον
ἐστὶ προσελθεῖν ἡμᾶς
τῶι ἡγεμόνι μεθ'ὑ-
περβολίου περὶ τῆς
5 τεσσαρακοστῆς καὶ κυ-
ρωθήσεται ἡμεῖν,
τοῦτο τὸ πιττάκιν ἔνεγκ(ον).

1 l. *συμφέρον* 6 l. *ἡμῖν* 7 l. *πιττάκιον*; *ενεγ*ᵏ

'Lord, if it is expedient that we should apply to the governor with a higher tender for the 2½% tax and it will be settled on us, bring this chit (out).'

3 *τῶι ἡγεμόνι*. For the prefect's responsibility for assessment of taxes see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 294–5. If the implication is that the tender had to be made directly to the prefect of Egypt in normal cases, this is interesting and new. However, we ought to be wary of drawing such a sweeping conclusion.

3–4 *μεθ'ὑπερβολίου*. The concession would normally be settled at the highest tender. Compare XIV **1633**, where the body of the document begins *βούλομαι ὑπερ]βαλεῖν Αὐρήλιον Σερῆν[ον* . . ., 'I wish to outbid Aurelius Serenus . . .'. This, however, is a tender to purchase state land, not a tax concession.

5 *τεσσαρακοστῆς*. Cf. the notification of the death in prison of a *μισθωτὴς τεσσαρακοστῆς ἐρεῶν*, XLIII **3104** (AD 228). The only other occurrence of a *τεσσαρακοστή* in the papyri is in SB XIV 11905, a list of five men, headed *ὀνόματα ἐπιτηρητῶν τεσσαρακοστῆς*. Roman taxes called *quadragesimae* seem usually to have been surcharges on customs dues, see S. de Laet, *Portorium*, 508.

5–6 *κυρωθήσεται*. This verb is 'used consistently to mean the confirmation of a transaction with the Government' (P. Ryl. II 97 introd.).

7 *πιττάκιν* (l. *-ιον*). For the ending cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii, 25–9. Here the word refers to the document itself. A negative form of the question (*εἰ οὐ συμφέρον ἐστί* . . . *καὶ οὐ κυρωθήσεται* . . .) would have been submitted at the same time. The god, by a mechanism unknown, perhaps varying with the particular oracle, returned one version to the questioner as his answer. Most of the surviving questions must be the returned versions, but at least five, and possibly all eight, of the examples from Socnopaeu Nesus recently published in *ZPE* 68 (1987) 99–104 were found together in a temple context. These may well be retained versions, counterparts of those which were returned to the questioners.

3800. Lease of Land

38 3B.81/D(2–4)a 7 × 24 cm September/October 219

This four-year lease of six aruras specifies a usual scheme of crop rotation, half in wheat, half in green crops each year, at rents of 8 artabas of wheat per arura on the wheat, and in money 44 drachmas per arura on the green crops. These are high rents for the period, cf. L **3591** 19–20 n., **3592** 14–16 n. For a list of Oxyrhynchite land leases from 30 BC to the end of the fourth century see L **3589** introduction. Add P. Harr. II 224, **3800**, and **3802**. The back is blank.

ἐμίσθωσαν [Αὐρήλιο]ι Ϛυρίων
πρεσβύτερος .[. . . . .].υ καὶ Ἡρα-
κλιανὸς ὁ καὶ Σαρ[απίω]ν ἀμφότε-
ροι ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχω[ν πό]λεως Αὐρη-
5 λίῳ Ἀμμωνᾶτ[ι 1–2]ρᾶτος μητρὸς
Ταυσείριος ἀπὸ κώμης Ψώβθεως
ἀπηλιώτου εἰς [ἔτη τ]έσσαρα ἀπὸ τοῦ
ἐνεστῶτος γ (ἔτους) [τὰς ἀν]αγραφομέ-
νας εἰς Στρατι[. . . . .]ωνος περὶ
10 τὴν αὐτὴν Ψ[ώβ]θ[ιν] βασιλικῆς
γῆς ἀρούρας ἕξ ἧ ὅσας ἐὰν ὦσι, ὥσ-
τε κατ' ἔτος σπεῖραι καὶ ξυλαμῆσαι
τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ πυρῷ, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον
ἥμισυ χλωροῖς, ἐκφορίου καὶ φόρου

4 *οξυρυγ'χω[ν* 8 *γϛ*

κατ' ἔτος κατ' ἄρουραν τῆς μὲν ἐν πυ-
ρῷ ἀνὰ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ὀκτώ,
τῆς δὲ ἐν χλωροῖς ἀνὰ δραχμὰς
τεσσαράκοντα τέσσαρας ἀκινδύ-
νων παντὸς κινδύνου, τῶν τῆς
γῆς κατ' ἔτος δημοσίων ὄντων
πρὸς τοὺς μεμισθωκότας, κυριεύ-
οντας τῶν καρπῶν ἕως τὰ κατ' ἔτος
ὀφειλόμενα ἀπολάβωσι. ἐὰν δέ τις,
ὃ μὴ εἴη, τοῖς ἑξῆς ἔτεσι ἄβροχος
γένηται, παραδεχθήσεται τῷ με-
μισθωμένῳ, ὃς καὶ βεβαιουμένῃ ̀ς ́
τῆς μισθώσεως μετρείτω τὸν
κατ' ἔτος πυρὸν εἰς δημόσιον θη-
σαυρὸν ἰδίαις ἑαυτοῦ δαπάναις
καὶ θέμα ἀναδότω τοῖς μεμισθω-
κόσι ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην μέτρησιν
καθαρὸν ἀπὸ πάντων καὶ ἀποδό-
τω τὸν κατ' ἔτος ἀργυρικὸν φόρο(ν)
μηνὶ Παῦνι, τῆς πράξεως γεινομέ-
νης παρά τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ-
χόντων αὐτῷ πάντων. κυρία
ἡ μίσθωσις. (ἔτους) γ Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνο ̀υ ́
Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ
Φ[αῶ]φι̣ ̣ ́. (m. 2) [Α]ὐ̣[ρ]ή̣λιος Ἀμ-
μωνᾶς 1–2 ρᾶ]τ̣ος μεμίσ-
θωμαι τὴν] γῆν ἐπὶ τὰ
τέσσαρα ἔτη καὶ] ἀποδώ-
σω τὰ προκείμ]ενα ὡς
πρόκειται. Αὐρ]ήλιος
10–11 letters]ογένους
ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ α]ὐ̣τοῦ

. . . . .

33 φορō 34–5 l. γινομένης 37 L γ

'Aurelius Syrion the elder, son of . . ., and Aurelius Heraclianus alias Sarapion both from the city of the Oxyrhynchi leased to Aurelius Ammonas son of . . . ras, mother Taysiris, from the village of Psobthis in the Eastern (toparchy) for four years from the present 3rd year the six aruras, or however many they may be, registered to Strati . . . son of . . . on, of royal land near the same Psobthis on condition that each year he sow and plant half with wheat and the other half with green crops at a rent in kind and money annually per arura on the half in wheat of eight artabas of wheat and on the half in green crops of forty-four drachmas free of every risk, the annual state taxes on the land being the responsibility of the lessors, who are to retain control of the crops until they recover the amounts owed to them each year. If any of the land, which heaven forbid, in the succeeding years remains unwatered, an allowance shall be made to the lessee, who shall also, if the lease is confirmed, measure the wheat each year into the public granary at his own expense and shall make a deposit for the lessors at the first measuring free of all charges and shall deliver the money rent annually in the month of Payni, with the right of exaction from him and all his possessions. The lease is normative. Year 3 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, Phaophi . . .'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Ammonas son of . . ., took the land on lease for the four years and I shall deliver the aforesaid (rents) as aforesaid. I, Aurelius . . . son of . . . ogenes, wrote on his behalf (because he does not know letters).'

5 E.g. Ἡ]ρᾶτος or Σα]ρᾶτος.

8–9 ἀν]αγραφομένας εἰς Στρατι̣[. . . . . .]ωνος. Two other leases have ἀναγραφομεν- εἰς αὐτόν/αὐτούς, i.e. PSI V 468.7–8 (AD 200), P. Ryl. IV 683.7–8 (AD 244), cf. J. Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, 80 n. 5. In this case it seems that the registration to the previous owner had not yet been cancelled, cf. A. M. Harmon, *YClS* 4 (1934) 214, 216–17.

40 Phaophi: 29 September–28 October, AD 219.

3801. Order to Supply

12 1B.141/F(a) 10.5 × 7 cm 13(?) September 295

This little chit is included here because it contains the rare name of Eunoius and there is a possibility that the person was the same as the sender of **3812**. This is no more than a possibility. The papyri were found in different seasons of excavation and there is no obvious coincidence of hands. If the identity were correct, this order would give a fixed date, although **3812** would need only to be reasonably close to that date.

Eunoius wrote to Asclas, a tenant-farmer, ordering him to supply a certain Melas with five artabas of grain, for which Melas was to pay. The main body of the text and the regnal year were written by one hand, probably that of a clerk. It was probably Eunoius himself who added the countersignature in line 4, and he may have added also the month name and day number in 5, which is clearly added at a different time, but may be in yet another hand.

The writing on the front is along the fibres. This has the appearance of being the recto, but there is no sheet joint to prove it. On the back is a short endorsement which looks as if it remained unfinished.

Εὐνόϊος Ἀσκλᾶ γεωργῷ χ(αίρειν).
δὸς Μέλανι σίτου ἀρτάβας
πέντε, ὧν τιμὴν δώσει.
(m. 2) σεσημ(είωμαι).
(ἔτους) ιβ καὶ ια καὶ δ∫, (m. 3?) Θὼθ με.

Back, upwards along the fibres:

(m. 4?) πιττακ (vac.)

1 χ∫ 3 l. δώσει 4 σεση^{μ} 5 ∟ = (ἔτους)

'Eunoius to Asclas, tenant-farmer, greeting. Supply to Melas five artabas of wheat(?), for which he will give the price.'
(2nd hand) 'I have countersigned.'
(1st hand) 'Year 12 and 11 and 4, (3rd hand?) Thoth 15(?).'
Back. (4th hand?). Voucher . . .'

1 For Eunoius see introd.

2 *σίτου*. 'Grain' is unsuitably vague for a business transaction such as this. Almost certainly this is a comparatively early instance of the change in meaning to 'wheat', well documented for the fourth century and later, cf. H. Cadell, *Akten d. XIII Internat. Papyrologenkongresses*, 61–8, esp. 64–5.

4 The ink is much faded, in contrast with the solid blackness of 1–3 and the beginning of 5. The countersignature was probably written by Eunoius himself, see introduction. Cf. 5 n.

5 Year 12 of Diocletian, 11 of Maximian, and 4 of Constantius and Galerius = AD 295/6. Thoth 15, following an Egyptian year with six intercalary days, is 13 September.
The addition of *Θὼθ με* is in a smaller hand. The ink looks blacker than that of line 4 although it is damaged by abrasion. It may, therefore, not have been added by the writer of 4, who was probably Eunoius himself, cf. 4 n. and introduction, but by a clerk. It could be by the first hand, though in a smaller style, or by another clerk.

6 *πιττακ*. This endorsement is somewhat abraded, but it seems to break off without even a sign of abbreviation. One common meaning of the word *πιττάκιον* is that of 'voucher', a document recording or certifying expenditure or receipt, which is very appropriate to this document. The abrasion makes it impossible to be sure if the hand is one of those on the front, but I think not. It might have been put on by Asclas, for instance. We might have expected to find it completed by the name of Melas and the amount of grain, for example.

3802. Lease of Land

38 3B.82/G(1)a 11 × 27 cm 31 October 296

This lease is an epidoche, a well known form which is especially associated with Oxyrhynchus, cf. J. Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, 12 and 30, *ZPE* 9 (1972) 1 n. 1. The crop is to be *χόρτος* and the rent in money, as is usual for that crop, see L **3589** 5–9 n.

For a list of Oxyrhynchite leases of land see L **3589** introduction. Add. P. Harr. II 224, **3800** and **3802**. The back is blank.

ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τ]ῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ
C[εβαστοῦ τὸ ς′] καὶ Κωνσταντίου ἐπιφανεστάτου
Καί[σαρος τ]ὸ β′. (vac.)
Αὐρηλίῳ Πλωτείνῳ Εὐ̣δ̣αί⟨μο⟩νος ἐξηγη(τ-) βουλευτῇ
τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως
παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀκούειτος Ἄπι̣τος μη(τρὸς) Τσεν-
θώνιος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως καταγεινομένου
ἐν ἐποικίῳ Ψενεῦαρ περὶ Σενέπτα. ἑ[κουσίως
ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι πρὸς μόν[ον τὸ
ἐνεστὸς ιγ (ἔτος) καὶ ιβ (ἔτος) καὶ ε (ἔτος) ἀπὸ τ̣ῷ̣[ν ὑπαρχόντων
σοι περὶ Σενέπτα . . .[15–20 letters
βεν ἀπὸ ἀρουρῶν ϵ. [2–4 letters ἄρουραν μίαν
ἥμισυ ὥστε ταύτην ξ[υλαμῆσα]ι χόρτῳ {φόρ̣ρ̣[υ}
φόρου τῆς αὐτῆς {αὐτῇ[ς} ἀ]ρούρης μιᾶς ἡμί-
σους ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν χειλίων, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) Ἀ, ἀκιν-
δύνῳ̣ [πα]ντὸς κινδύνου, τῶν τῆς γῆς δημοσίω(ν)
ὄντων π̣ρ̣ὸ̣ς̣ σὲ τὸν γεοῦχον κυριεύοντα τῶν
καρπῶν ἕως τὸν φόρον ἀπολάβῃς. βεβαιουμέ-
ν̣[ης δέ μοι τῆς] ἐπιδοχῆ⟨ς⟩ ἐπάναγκες ἀποδώσω τὸ(ν)
φ[όρον τῷ Π]αχὼν μηνὶ ἀνυπερθέτως γεινο-
μ[ένης τῆς πρά]ξεως παρά τε ἐμοῦ ὡς καθήκει. κυρί-
α ἡ [ἐπιδοχὴ κ]αὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ σοῦ ὡμολόγησα.
(ἔτους) ιγ′′ [καὶ ιβ′]′ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ
καὶ Μα[ξιμιανο]ῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ ϵ∫′ τῶν κυρίων
ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων, Ἀθὺρ δ̄.
(m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Ἀκοῦϵις ἐπεδεξάμην εἰς μίσ-
θωσιν ἄρουραν μίαν ἥμισυ καὶ ἀποδώσω
τὸν φόρον ὡς πρόκ(ειται) καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς
ὡμολόγησα. Αὐρήλ(ιος) Σιλβανὸς
ὁ καὶ Θώνιος ἔγραψα ὑ(πὲρ αὐτοῦ) μὴ (εἰδότος) γράμματα.

4 l. *Πλωτίνῳ*; *εξηγ*^{η} 5 *λαμ∫*, *οξυρυγ̣χιτων*? 6 l. *Ἀκοῦϊτος*; *μη*) 7 l. *καταγινομένου*
10 *ιγ∫*, *ιβ∫*, *ϵ∫* 15 l. *χιλίων*; *|∫* 16 *δημοσιῶ* 19 *επαναγ'κες*, *τῶ* 20–1 l. *γινομένης*
23 ∟*ιγ′′* 27 l. *Ἀκοῦϊς* 29 *προκ̄* 30 *αυρη*^{λ} 31 *υ)μη)γραμματα*

'Under the consuls our lords Diocletian Augustus, for the 6th time, and Constantius most noble Caesar, for the 2nd time.'

'To Aurelius Plotinus son of Eudaemon(?), (former?) exegetes, councillor of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelius Acuis son of Apis, mother Tsenthonis, from the same city resident in the hamlet of Pseneuar near Senepta. Of my own free will I undertake to lease for the present 13th and 12th and 5th year only from your property near Senepta . . . from (seven? nine? eleven?) aruras one arura and a half, so as to plant this with grass at a rent for the same one arura and a half of one thousand drachmas of money, total 1,000 dr., free from all risk, the public taxes on the land being at the charge of you the landowner, and you are to retain ownership of the crops until you recover the rent. If my undertaking to lease is confirmed, I shall of necessity deliver the rent in the month of Pachon without postponement, you having the right both from me, (and so on) as appropriate. The undertaking to lease is normative and on being asked the formal question by you I gave my assent. Year 13 and 12 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian, Augusti, and 5 of our lords Constantius and Galerius, the most noble Caesars, Hathyr 4.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Acuis, undertook on lease one arura and a half and I shall deliver the rent as aforesaid, and on being asked the formal question I gave my assent. I, Aurelius Silvanus alias Thonius, wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters.'

4 *Ἐὐδαί⟨μο⟩νος*. This seems the likely solution, cf. the repetition of *φόρου* in 13–14 and of *αὐτῆς* in 14. Perhaps **3811** 6–7 is also relevant, see n.

ἐξηγη(τ-). Either *ἐξηγη(τῇ)* or *ἐξηγη(τεύσαντι)* is possible.

6–7 The name *Τσενθῶνις* is not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, but is equivalent to *Σινθῶνις*, a common name at Oxyrhynchus.

8 *Ψενεὐαρ*. This place is not in P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*.

11–12 At first sight *-βεν* suggests *ἔλαβεν* or a compound, but it might be the end of an unknown place name, i.e. restore something like *ἓν τ[όπῳ λεγομένῳ* c.5 letters *]βεν*.

12 *ἑπ[τά*, *ἐν[νέα*, and *ἓν[δεκα* could suit, *εἴκοσι* and *ἑξ* do not.

13 *χόρτῳ {φόρο[υ}*. Only the lower parts of the letters are preserved, but *χορταράκῳ* or *χορτάρακι* (SB VIII 9918.8–9) cannot be read.

14–15 The rent of 1,000 drachmas for 1½ aruras is lower than that in PSI IX 1071, also of AD 296, where 6 ar. bear a rent of 7,800 dr. It is 666⅔ dr. compared with 1,300 dr. per arura. There are no other directly comparable figures, see D. Hennig, *Bodenpacht*, 295–6.

21 *τῆς πρά]ξεως . . . ὡς καθήκει*. Cf. XXXI **2585** 18–19 n., 19 n.

3803. Lease of Land

66 6B.27/C(1–2)a 20 × 29.5 cm 16 August 411

The date clause adds something to our knowledge of the irregularities in the consular lists for AD 411 and 412, see 1 n., and this is the document's chief claim to attention.

Although it is essentially a lease of land, some or all of it under vines, the object of the lease is said to be 'one yoke from an irrigation machine' (*ἀπὸ μηχανῆς . . . ζηγὸν* (l. *ζυγόν*) *ἕνα* 6–7) and a vineyard with the associated eight aruras; in the subscription this is replaced by 'the half of the irrigation machine or a yoke', *(τ]ὼ{ν} ἥμιση* (l. *τὸ ἥμισυ*) *τῆς [μηχανῆ]ς ἢ ϲηκόν* (l. *ζυγόν*) 18). This terminology is new, see 7 n. for discussion, but there is some sort of parallel in four Oxyrhynchite leases where the object is said to be an irrigation machine with land: P. Mich. XI 611 (AD 412: *μηχανὴν ἐξηρτισμένην ἀρουρῶν τριάκοντα κτλ.*, 9–10), P. Flor. III 325 (AD 489: *μηχανὴν . . . μετὰ . . . ἀρουρῶν εἴκοσι μιᾶς*, 10–12), PSI I 77 (AD 551 or 566: *μηχανὴν . . . μετὰ . . . ἀρουρῶν* . . ., 14–20), P. Berl. Zilliacus 7 (AD 574: *μηχανὴν . . . μετὰ . . . ἀρουρῶν δώδεκα*, 12 18). Moreover, *μηχανή* became a term for the unit of cultivation, as is particularly evident from the named *μηχαναί* in the Apion estate accounts, cf. e.g. XVI p. 305. It is claimed that this development began in the fourth century, see H. Cadell, *Akten d. XIII Papyrologenkongresses* 67–8 and n. 47, relying on A. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 1 (1920) 313 and n. 3. However, the earliest documents cited there, I **102** 10 (AD 306) and VI **901** (= LIV **3771**) 7 (AD 336), do not illustrate this usage, and XIV **1776** (*τοὺς γεωργοὺς τῶν τριῶν μηχανῶν*, 9–10), although its script was assigned to the late fourth century, could easily be of the early fifth. In some places *ὄργανον* was the preferred term in both senses, see M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 43, Calderini, *Aegyptus* 1 (1920) 311, P. Lond. V 1741.5 n.

Dr Cadell, loc. cit., associates the spread of the use of irrigation machines with the growth of the large estates, because of their greater capital expenditure. Here the rent is unspecified but is as laid down in previous rent-rolls and on the same terms as for other machines, which suggests that the lessor was a landowner on more than a small scale. Relevant too may be the fact that the land is leased in perpetuity, another very rare puzzling feature, see 10 n.

Contrary to the usual custom the writing runs across the fibres although the back is blank, at least as far as it survives. No sheet join has been detected, so that it cannot be proved which side was the recto of the manufacturer's roll. Nevertheless, the written surface appears less carefully made and gives the strong impression that it is the verso of the roll from which the piece was cut.

μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλαουΐου Οὐαράνου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου, Μεσορὴ κγ''.
Φλ[α]ουΐῳ Θεοδώρῳ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ γεουχῷ
Αὐρήλιος] Ἡλίας Τούρβωνος ἀπὸ κώμης Ψώβθεως ἐννάτου
π[άγ]ου τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχίτου νομοῦ χαίρειν. ἐκουσίως ἐπιδέχομαι
μιϲ]θώϲασθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σοι ἐν παιδίοις τῆς αὐτῆς
κώ]μης Ψώβθεως ἀπὸ μηχανῆς ἐξερτισμένης πάϲῃ ξυλικῇ
καταρτίᾳ] καὶ ϲιδηρώσι ζηγὸν ἕνα πρότερον ὑπὸ Ἀείου Ἀφοῦτος
καὶ ἄμπε]λον τὸ πρὶν ὑπὸ Ἀνοῦβιν σὺν τῶν ὑποστελλόντων
ἀρο]υρῶν [ὀκτ]ώ, ἢ ὅϲας ἐὰν ὦϲει, ἀκολούθως προτέροις ἀπαιτηϲίμοις,
6–8 *]ϲ [τῆ]ϲ ἑνδεκάτης νέας ἰνδικτίονος εἰϲ τὸ διηνεκές,*
ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμὲ μ]ιϲθώϲασθαι καὶ τελέϲε τ[ὸ]ν [προτε]λούμενον φόρον
ϰ[αὶ] πάντα [τ]ὰ ἔκτακτα καθ' ὁμοιότητα τ[ῶ]ν ἄλλων μηχανῶν
ἀκολούθως ἀπαιτηϲίμοις καὶ ἀντλῆϲη τε. [.]. . . . ϲ ὕδα{ρ}ϲιν

1 l. *ὑπατείαν*; *φλαουΐου* 2 *φλ[α]ουΐῳ*? 3 l. *ἐνάτου* 4 *οξυρυγ'χιτου* 5 *ὑπαρχοντων*; l. *πεδίοις* 6 l. *ἐξηρτισμένης* 7 l. *ϲιδηρώϲει ζυγόν* 8–9 l. *ταῖϲ ὑποστελλούϲαις ἀρούραις* 9 l. *ὅϲαι, ὦϲι* 10 *ϊνδικτιονος*; l. *ἰνδικτίωνος* 11 l. *τελέϲαι* 13 l. *ἀντλῆϲαι*; *ὕδαρϲιν*

ε[ἰc] τὴν [πρ]οκειμένην ἄμπελον, βεβαιουμένης δέ μοι τῆς ἐπιδο-
χ[ῆς ἐπά]ναγκες ἀποδώcω τὸν φόρ[ο]ν τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ
ἀνυπ[ερθ]έτως. κυρία ἡ μίcθωcις διccὴ γραφῖca καὶ ἐπερω-
τηθεὶ[c ὡ]μολόγηca. (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Ἡλίας [ὁ] προκίμενος
μεμίcθωμα[ι τ]ὼ{ν} ἥμιcη τῆς [μηχανῆ]ς ἢ cηκὸν
πρ]ότερ[ο]ν Ἀνουθίου καὶ τελέ[cω τὸν] φόρ[ο]ν
τὸν] προ[τ]ελ[ο]ύμενον ἀπὸ τῆ[c νέ]ας ἐνδεκάτης
ἰνδικ]τί[ω]νος καὶ τελέ[c]ω πά[ντα τ]ὰ ἔκτακτα . . .
. . ὡc πρ]όκιται. Φλαΰϊο[c] Καcτρ[. . . . .]. . νος
. . . . .]να ἀξιωθεὶc ἔγραψ[α ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ] παρόντος
γράμμ]ατα μὴ εἰδότες.

15 επα]ναγ'κες 16 l. γραφεῖca 17 l. προκείμενος 18 ἥ- corr. from ϋ: l. τὸ ἥμιcυ, ζυγόν 22 l. πρόκειται; φλαυϊο[c 24 l. εἰδότος

'After the consulship of Flavius Varanes, *uir clarissimus*, Mesore 23rd.'

'To Flavius Theodorus, *uir clarissimus*, landowner, Aurelius Elias son of Turbo from the village of Psobthis of the ninth *pagus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greetings. I willingly undertake to lease from your property in the lands of the same village of Psobthis from an irrigation machine fitted with all wooden fittings and ironwork one yoke (of oxen) formerly in the charge of Aeiox son of Aphus and a vineyard earlier in the charge of Anuthis, together with the associated eight aruras, or however many they may be, in conformity with previous rent-rolls (from the sowing) of the eleventh, new, indiction in perpetuity, (on condition that I?) take the lease and pay the previous rent and all the separate charges on the same basis as for the other irrigation machines in conformity with rent-rolls and provide irrigation every fourth day(?) for the aforesaid vineyard, and if my offer to lease is confirmed I shall necessarily pay the rent at the proper term without delay. The lease, written in two copies, is normative and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.' (2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Elias the aforesaid, have taken on lease the half of the irrigation machine or the yoke (of oxen) formerly of Anuthis and I shall pay the previous rent from the new, eleventh, indiction and I shall pay all the separate charges . . . as aforesaid. I, Flavius Castr . . . . . ., as requested, wrote for him in his presence because he does not know letters.'

1 This is the first appearance of Varanes in the papyri. His consulship fell in AD 410, so that this postconsular date is equivalent to 16 August 411. The mention of the 'eleventh, new' indiction, i.e. AD 412/13 (10, cf. 20–1), is disconcerting at first sight, but the term must be used in its fiscal or agricultural sense with reference to the crop to be harvested in summer AD 412, which would provide taxes comprehended in the eleventh indiction, see R. A. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 9–16, cf. *Mnemosyne* 31 (1978) 289–90. The lease and the agricultural work were to begin in autumn 411, in order to produce a crop in summer 412.

Varanes was the Eastern consul. There was no Western consul in 410 because of the Gothic threat which culminated in the sack of Rome in August. Until recently it was accepted that the next year was similar, Theodosius holding a fourth consulship without a Western colleague in 411. In 412 the canonical consuls were Honorius IX and Theodosius V. Not long ago it was noticed that SPP XX 117 is dated 9 December 411 by the uncanonical consulship of Honorius IX(!) and Theodosius IV and that P. Mich. XI 611 is dated 27 September 412 by a postconsular formula for the same pair, see Bagnall, Worp, *Mnemosyne* 31 (1978) 287–93, cf. A. Cameron, *BASP* 16 (1979) 175–7; 18 (1981) 69–72. Since then we have had another example of the postconsular formula in LI **3639** of 11 September 412, and a new article elucidating the problem and bringing in more evidence, especially from unrevised date clauses in the Codex Theodosianus: R. W. Burgess, *ZPE* 65 (1986) 211–21. And now finally we have **3796**, which produces at

last a dating from 10 December 412 by the canonical consuls, Honorius IX and Theodosius V. Burgess pointed out that there is no reliable evidence from the West for a consulship of Honorius in 411 and that C. Th. XV, 1.48 of 28 November 411 has escaped revision and is therefore still dated by the postconsulate of Varanes. The Eastern evidence he attributed to a misunderstanding of Western intentions by the Eastern authorities. At this point it seems best to tabulate the significant dates given by the papyri and what appear to be unrevised consular dates in the Codex Theodosianus:

1.	6–13 June 411 (C. Th. V. 16.33)	T. IV *et qui fuerit nuntiatus* (Cple.)
2.	16 August 411 (**3803**)	p. c. Varanae (Oxy.)
3.	17 August 411 (C. Th. VII. 4.32)	H. IX, T. IV (Cple.)
4.	28 November 411 (C. Th. XV. 1.48)	p. c. Varanae (Ravenna)
5.	9 December 411 (SPP XX 117.1)	H. IX, T. IV (Coba, Heracleopolite)
6.	28 January 412 (C. Th. VII. 17)	T. V. *et qui fuerit nuntiatus* (Cple.)
7.	11 September 412 (LI **3639**)	p. c. H. IX, T. IV (Oxy.)
8.	27 September 412 (P. Mich. XI 611)	p. c. H. IX, T. IV (Oxy.)
9.	10 December 412 (**3796**)	H. IX, T. V (Oxy.)

From item (1) it appears that in Constantinople Theodosius had no colleague till at least 6 June 411.

Item (2) shows Oxyrhynchus still dating by the postconsulate of Varanes on 16 August 411, which Burgess would attribute to inefficient communication between Constantinople and Oxyrhynchus. Certainly if Theodosius' fourth consulship was announced in Constantinople by 13 June at latest, see item (1), then the news had failed to reach Oxyrhynchus over two months later, although the usual estimate for the arrival of news of accessions from Rome in the earlier period is *c.*30 days, and the voyage from Constantinople to Alexandria could be made with a favourable wind in nine days, see L. Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World* 152, cf. id. *Ships and Seamanship* 270–99. If this consulship was taken on 1 January, as we might expect, the news had taken well over seven months to arrive in Oxyrhynchus. To me this remains a considerable puzzle, see below on items (7) and (8).

Item (3), till Burgess rescued it, had been routinely emended away to 17 August 412 (H. IX, T. V), but it indicates that the Eastern authorities believed that Honorius was taking a ninth consulship late in 411.

Item (4) is an obviously unrevised date from the Codex Theodosianus which indicates that the Western court, even as late as 28 November 411, had received no news of the fourth consulship of Theodosius and had not celebrated a ninth consulship for Honorius, although item (3) indicates that on 17 August his ninth consulship was used in Constantinople.

Item (5) shows the Constantinople formula of (3) in use in the Heracleopolite nome in December 411.

Item (6) is an unrevised formula for 412—contrast C. Th. XIV. 26.1 of the same day—which indicates that in Constantinople the fifth consulship of Theodosius was celebrated before any Western colleague was known.

Items (7) and (8) show, disconcertingly, that Oxyrhynchus continued to date by the consuls of 411 until at least 27 September 412. If, as we would normally suppose, Theodosius took his fifth consulship on 1 January 412—and (6) seems to show that he had taken it at least by 28 January—the spread of information was amazingly slow. It would be very interesting to know what conditions are indicated by such a slow spread of information. Had no ship arrived at Alexandria from Constantinople for over seven months, including the summer sailing season? Hardly; but clearly the former concern for the formal promulgation of consulships was lost, cf. LI **3639** introduction.

Item (9) shows that the canonical consuls of 412 were known at Oxyrhynchus at latest by 10 December, although on 27 September not even the consulship of Theodosius was known.

The recently published P. Heid. IV 306, which is the first dated papyrus from AD 413, shows that as late as 16 December 413 an Oxyrhynchite clerk was dating by the postconsular formula of the same consular pair. See now also R. S. Bagnall *et al.*, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 356–9, 667–8.

2 The landowner may have appeared again in P. Oslo II 35 (AD 426, see P. J. Sijpesteijn, K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 26 (1977) 276 n. 28; R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Mnemosyne* 31 (1978) 289).4: *Αὐρηλίοις . . .]. νίῳ κ[α]ὶ Θεοδώρῳ λαμπρο(τάτοις)*. The restoration of *Αὐρηλίοις* is unjustified. Those persons leased out some land for one year. Theodorus might be identical also with Flavius Theodorus son of Theon, a landowner who submitted a petition to *riparii* in Pap. Lugd. Bat. XIII 8 (19 April 421). That man is not described as a *uir clarissimus* but as a *ναύαρχος*, cf. P. Haun. III 68.2 (402), P. Heid. IV 306.3 (413), PSI XVII Congr.

(= *Trenta Testi Greci . . . editi in occasione del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, Napoli 1983) 29.6 (31 August 432), PSI VI 708 (436), P. Heid. IV 313.10, 11 (V), P. Vindob. Tandem 19.1 (V/VI), P. Warren 3.10 (*c.*530), MPER XV No. 95.2, 10 (s.d.). This probably means the same as *nauicularius*, a shipowner whose ships were engaged in transport for the state, cf. C. Theod. XIII. 5.20 (*nauarchiae . . . functioni*), XIII. 5.32 (*nauarchorum coetus* (= *nauiculariorum concilium* below); *. . . per Orientales nauarchos*); the first is addressed to a *praefectus Augustalis* and the second is concerned with grain transport from Alexandrian granaries to Constantinople. Shipowners had equestrian rank, see C. Theod. XIII. 5.16 of AD 380, confirming a grant of Constantine, but persons of senatorial rank could act if they wished (C. Theod. XIII. 5.14.4; AD 371). The status indication Flavius implies service to the state, see J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 33–63; 13 (1974) 283–304, esp. 302.

If this identification is correct, it may help to explain why the lease is in perpetuity. The position of *nauicularius* devolved on owners of land subject to the *nauicularia functio*, see A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* ii 827–9, and so tended to become hereditary. The land continued to be burdened with this duty to the state and so may have come to be treated to some extent like state land, which was more often let out on hereditary leases, see Jones, op. cit. 788–90, cf. 10 n.

The note to P. Heid. IV 306.3 connects these Egyptian *ναύαρχοι* with Nile traffic and dissociates them from seagoing ships. That may be right. We know very little about the organization of river traffic, see Jones, op. cit. 829–30. It may have been included in the same system, since it was in Egypt at least a vital link in the chain of supply to Constantinople. However we should note also the diminution in the size of ships and the shortage of them in just this period, see J. Rougé, *Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime* 72–3, amplified by L. De Salvo in *Sodalitas: Scritti . . . A. Guarino* IV 1654–6.

3 Scanty traces of perhaps two letters surviving on twisted fibres at the beginning of the line have not been assigned to their proper letters; read perhaps *Αὐρή]λι[ος*.

On the spelling *ἔνατος* see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 201.

3–4 Psobthis in the ninth *pagus* occurs also in P. Giss. 115 introduction, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 225, 226 n. 11. Since the Oxyrhynchite *pagi* were numbered from south to north and ten in all, it is probable that of the four places of the same name in the nome this should be identified with the one which had earlier been in the Lower, i.e. northernmost, toparchy, see XII **1425** 4 n., cf. Pruneti, op. cit. 224.

6 *ἐξερτισμένης*(= *ἐξηρτ-*). This error may be merely phonetic, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 243 §iii (before or after a liquid), 248–9 (summary), or it may reflect some uncertainty over augment and reduplication, ibid. ii 233 (c), 1 and 2.

7 *καταρτία*]. Cf. IX **1208** 14 (AD 291), XXXIV **2723** 10, P. Michael. 19.6, PSI IX 1072.10–11 (all three 3rd cent.). All these have *πάσῃ ξυλικῇ καταρτία καὶ σιδηρώσει*. Less likely is *ἐξαρτία*, cf. P. Flor. III 325.11 (AD 488), PSI I 77.16 (AD 551–65), P. Berl. Zilliacus 7.14 (AD 574). For the equipment of an irrigation machine cf. T. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes* 82–4.

ζηγόν. This is probably the phonetic equivalent of *ζυγόν*, which *ἕνα* indicates to be the accusative of the masculine *ζυγός*, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 262–4 (*υ* > *η*), 277 (*ο* > *ω*), and the 'yoke' seems to relate to the animals which turned the machine, cf. P. Köln V 234.9 and n., K. Maresch, *Aegyptus* 66 (1986) 142, 144 (8 n.). The machine was the so-called sakiyeh, which by means of a pot-garland on a large vertical wheel geared to a horizontal wheel, driven usually by oxen, raised water from an underground brick-vaulted cistern, see L. Ménassa, P. Laferrière, *La sāqia: technique et vocabulaire de la roue à eau égyptienne* (Cairo, I.F.A.O.), cf. J. P. Oleson, *Greek and Roman Mechanical Water-lifting Devices* (= *Phoenix* suppl. 16, 1984); T. Schiøler, *Roman and Islamic Water-lifting Wheels* (Odense, 1973). To make efficient use of the machine it would be necessary to have at least two pairs of animals working in shifts. Part of the much damaged subscription seems to run *μεμίσθωμα[ι τ]ὼ{ν} ἥμισ̣η τῆς [μηχανῆ]ς ἢ σηκόν* (18: l. *τὸ ἥμισυ, ζυγόν*), 'I have leased the half of the machine or a yoke'. In this case, therefore, it seems that the machine was served by two pairs of animals. The lessee rented the right to use one team, presumably for half the available time, and to cultivate half of the area irrigated by the machine. The area specified seems to be eight aruras (*ἀρο]υρῶν [ὀκτ]ώ*, 9), but it is not quite clear whether this is the whole or the half. Other machines in cases of this kind serve areas of from twelve to thirty aruras.

Ἀείος is a new name.

7–8 It seems that responsibility for the vineyard had previously been separate from responsibility for the machine. Only Anuthis reappears in the subscription (19).

8 *ἄμπε]λον*. Cf. 14 *ε[ἰς] τὴν [πρ]οκειμένην ἄμπελον*.

Ἀνοῦθιν. Cf. 19 *Ἀρυυθίου*. On the declension see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 25 6.

8 9 *σὺν τῶν ὑποστελλόντων [ἀρο]υρῶν [ὀκτ]ώ* (l. *ταῖς -ούσαις ἀρούραις*). Cf. P. Berl. Zilliacus 7.12–18 *μηχανήν . . . μετά . . . τῶν . . . ὑποστελλουσῶν αὐτῇ μηχανῇ ἀρουρῶν δώδεκα*. The genitive here is probably due mostly to association with *μετά*, cf. LI **3636** 5 n. The position of this phrase suggests that the vineyard fell within the specified area, but it is not clear whether it occupied the whole area or not, cf. 7 n.

9 *ὅσας*. The accusative is wrongly recalled from the formula, *μισθώσασθαι ἀρούρας* (*τόσας*) *ἣ ὅσαι ἐὰν ὦσι*.

προτέροις ἀπαιτησίμοις. Cf. 12–13, and see introduction paragraph 3 for possible implications.

10 One word we might expect at the beginning is *σπορᾶς*, as in P. Mich. XI 611.7, VI **913** 8, P. Oslo II 35.10, on which see especially *Mnemosyne* 31 (1978) 287–90, where it is explained that at this period the taxes in kind ascribed to a particular indiction were due at the beginning of it. In this case the lease begins in autumn 411 and the first crop is expected in summer 412, at the beginning of the eleventh indiction in the fiscal sense, cf. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 9–16 (on the change in the beginning of the fiscal indiction), 30–5 (on *νέα* meaning 'coming, new'). Perhaps *ἀπὸ σπορᾶ*]*ς* will do as a stop-gap, until a good parallel emerges.

εἰς τὸ διηνεκές. Leases in perpetuity are extremely rare, especially from a private landlord, see A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* ii 790, 1323–4, citing only P. Giss. 106, which is a sixth-century receipt in respect of an emphyteutic, i.e. hereditary, lease. The state and the churches more commonly made use of this type of tenure, see Jones, op. cit. 788–90. See 2 n. for a glimmer of an explanation of its use here.

The phrase *μισθώσασθαι εἰς τὸ διη[νεκές* turns up in the very fragmentary P. Ryl. II 427 fr. 27.6, cf. fr. 24.4 *εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς ευ*[. This document looks as if it chiefly concerns state leases; it dates probably from *c.*AD 200, cf. fr. 46.13.

11 *ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμὲ μ*]*ισθώσασθαι*. No exact parallel has been found. Cf. VI **913** 10 *ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμᾶς ταύτας* [*σπείραι, κτλ.*, PSI IX 1078.13 *ἐπὶ τῷ μὲ ἐπαντλῆσαι εἰς ἄβροχ*[*ον, κτλ*. There are some meagre traces of ink on disturbed fibres near the beginning of the line, which I am unable to assign to letters. Perhaps *ἐπ*]*ὶ τῷ*[?

13 Read probably *ἀντλῆσαι*, to parallel *μ*]*ισθώσασθαι καὶ τελέσε* (= *-σαι*) in 11. After that *τετ*[*α*]*βτ*ε*ες* seems to suit best, cf. IV **729** 24 *ποτισμούς . . . πεμπταίους* for a vineyard, with M. Schebel, *Landwirtschaft* 273. Read perhaps *τεταρταίοις ὕδασιν*, or even *τεταρταίαις ἀρδεύσεσιν*, which might better explain the ending *-ες* and the odd form *ὕδαρσιν*, although the intrusive rho may be simply left over from the nominative singular. I have also considered something like *τέσσαρσιν* or *τετάρτοις ὕδασιν*, cf. BGU I 33.3–4 *πλείω δύο ὑδάτων μὴ πότιζε τὴν ἄμπελον*, P. Fay. 110.14–15 *δεύτερον* [*ὕ*]*δω*[*ρ*], 17 *δυσὶ ὕδασι*, but the traces will not conform.

17 The paragraphus begins with a double curve, cf. R. Pintaudi, Pap. Flor. XII (Supplemento): *Papiri . . . a Firenze, Catalogo della Mostra . . . 1983*, Tav. LIII (PSI VIII 963). P. Wisc. II 65 (Pl. XXV) shows a less contorted, more understandable version.

18 Cf. 7 n. for the meaning. For the phonetic spelling see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 277 (*ο* > *ω*), 112–13 (intrusive final *ν*), 123 (*ζ* > *ς*), 262–4 (*υ* > *η*), 78–9 (*γ* > *κ*).

21 The traces at the end are faint. Perhaps *πλή*|*[ρη*, 'in full', will do as a stop-gap.

22–3 The writer of the subscription has not been identified. A name like Castricianus or Castre(n)sianus comes to mind, see I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* 144, 208, but]*. .νος* is too far away to belong to either of these. Perhaps *-νος* is the end of an alias and *-]νᾶ* the end of a patronymic.

3804. Annual Account of an Estate Steward

No inv. no. 288 × 30 cm. AD 566

This account was recently rediscovered, still rolled up, among the boxes of material belonging to the collection. It was unrolled by Dr Shelagh Jameson in 1981 and proved to be continuous and almost complete. Internal evidence shows that the first visible column on the recto, much damaged, was the original first column of the document, see 1–14 n. Twenty-one joins can be seen on the roll, which now consists of twenty-two individual sheets, each as a rule between 13 and 14 centimetres broad. The first sheet

is broken, so that the surviving piece is only *c.*4.5 cm broad. The last sheet, *c.*10.5 cm broad, is also incomplete, but it seems to have been cut rather than broken. This may have been caused by trimming of the original maker's roll or the section used for the account may have been cut from a longer roll. If the lost beginning was the beginning of the roll as it came from the paper-maker, it would have had a protocollon, cf. E. G. Turner, *Recto and Verso* (Pap. Brux. 16) 20–2, which at this date would have been occupied on this side by a large official docket, cf. **3805** 1–6 n.

There is no inventory number, but the recto account bears a very striking resemblance to XVI **1911**, which was retained by the Cairo Museum in 1897, see P. Oxy. XVI p. v, and was inventorized as P. Cair. 10154. This circumstance strongly implies that the roll was part of the large find of Byzantine papyri made by Grenfell and Hunt in their first season at Oxyrhynchus on 18 and 19 March 1897, vividly described in the Egypt Exploration Fund's *Archaeological Report* 6 (1896–7) 8–9. The less coherent accounts on the verso are published below as **3805**.

The rural estates of the Apion family in the Oxyrhynchite nome were divided into *προνοηcίαι*, that is, districts concentrated around a small group of hamlets, *ἐποίκια*, and under the control of stewards called *προνοηταί*, whose chief responsibility was to collect the revenues, see E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt*, 88–93, A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* 63–5, J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* (Collège de France, Centre de Recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance) 9 (1985) 16–19, cf. A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* ii, 790–1. This is the summary annual account of one such steward, by name Theodorus (143, 225). His district consisted of seven hamlets, namely Apele, receipts from which are recorded in lines 1–34, Paciac (35–47), Cissonos (48–55), Trigyu (56–61), Luciu (62–101), Tarusebt (102–26), and Cotylëeiu (127–40). None of these small places is very well located, but it is clear that they were close enough together to be managed conveniently by a single steward, and there is a clue from which it can be deduced that they lay in the far south of the Oxyrhynchite city territory. Each of the hamlets had a church which received a customary annual allowance in wheat and money from the steward's account and the section recording the expenditure on these allowances includes another to the church of Iseum Panga, a larger place, a *κώμη* rather than an *ἐποίκιον*, known to have lain during the Roman period in the Upper toparchy, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchite*, 71–2. In Egyptian geography 'upper' means southern and this toparchy was the most southerly of the six into which the nome was divided. That Iseum Panga lay near the steward's district is confirmed by its appearance along with Cissonos in PSI III 165. Also mentioned in that document is Netnëu, which occurs here too (155, 236, 261), though it was under the authority of another steward. Finally Pecty, twice attested in company with Iseum Panga, see Pruneti, op. cit., 141–2, is mentioned three times in this account (85, 86, 99). A less certain inference is that the district was close to the rising ground on the west. This is implied by the mention in

1911 166 of quarrymen from Trigyu. There can have been no convenient sources of stone in the low ground towards the Nile to the east. Quarrymen are also attested in I **134** for Nesu Leucadiu, which occurs here in a context that suggests it was not far away (156). In that document the stone is destined for Tarusebt, which confirms their proximity. The first edition has *Ταρουcθ*[*(ίνου)*], supposed to stand for *Ταρουθίνου*, with a note, 'The doubtful *θ* might be *ε*'. Pruneti, op. cit., 198–9, thought Tarusebt was probably meant. A photograph of **134**, itself now in Cairo, shows *Ταρουcέβ* in full with only very slight damage to the beta. In this roll the name is spelled with final *-βτ* everywhere, but in **1911** *Ταρουcέβ* is a frequent alternative, e.g. 80, 84, 112–14.

The date is not stated, beyond the frequent references to the 14th indiction as the period covered by the account. That this is AD 565/6 emerges from the relationship with **1911**, which is for a fifth indiction further described at one point (148) as year 233 and 202, that is, AD 556/7, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, 89, cf. 36–42. That our roll is later can be deduced from many entries, but is clearest from comparison of **1911** 150–1 *κατὰ κέλευcιν τοῦ δεcπότου ἡμῶν τοῦ κυροῦ πατρικίου Cτρατηγίου* with 186–7 here, which describe the same authority for the same concession in a different way, *ἐκ κελεύcεως τοῦ ἐν εὐαγεῖ τῇ μνήμῃ πατρικίου Cτρατηγίου*. Strategius 'in well-sanctified memory' evidently died in the interval between the accounts. The overall similarity of the entries, including the names of many tenants, indicates that our fourteenth indiction must have been only nine years later than the fifth indiction of **1911**, rather than twenty-four years later. In particular Anastasius the banker is known to have been replaced by another called John by early in the fourteenth indiction of AD 580/1 (I **144**), so that he could not have accepted payments as late as Mesore of that indiction, cf. 279. Only AD 565/6 will suit the conditions.

This raises another difficulty. If this Strategius was dead by AD 565/6, it is surprising to find him referred to in a document of AD 576/7 simply as *τοῦ μεγάλ(ου) κυροῦ* (= *κυρίου*) *Cτρατηγίου*, see XVIII **2195** 108, 122. Previously these have been taken as the latest references to him alive, see J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 68 n. 381. The calculated date of **2195** is unassailable, because the account is for a tenth indiction and the estate banker is John, firmly dated to AD 580 by I **144**. However, in **2195** 108 the order of Strategius is dated to an eleventh indiction. Although col. ix (lines 151–9) records arrears paid in the eleventh indiction for the tenth, i.e. in AD 577/8 for AD 576/7, Strategius' order for a concession here in the main body of the account ought to go back to a previous eleventh indiction, probably to AD 562/3 rather than as far back as AD 547/8. Consequently, in spite of some uncertainties it seems best to accept that the references to Strategius in **2195** 108 and 122 were simply copied out without making them reveal that Strategius was dead, and to observe that 108 probably informs us that he was still alive in AD 562/3. He died, if the argument is correct, in the period between AD 562/3 and AD 565/6.

Strategius on this view turns out to be even more 'evanescent' than Gascou found him, and there is yet another difficulty. The widow Flavia Praejecta, who appears in

AD 587 with her sons Apion and George, still minors at that date (XVIII **2196**) and Apion still a minor in AD 591 (XVI **1990**, cf. **1989**, XIX **2243a** 86), is presented in the family tree (Gascou p. 69) as the widow of this Strategius. If he died before AD 566, Apion III must have been born by then and AD 591 is practically the last moment at which he could have been considered a minor. The consular family of the Apions no doubt ceased to be minors at the Roman canonical age of twenty-five. The fit is tight, and made tighter by the implication of **2196** that Apion was not the younger son, since he is named before George.

In general the document strikingly confirms the rigid pattern of the administration of the Apion estates: the rent-roll theoretically remained precisely the same over the nine years between **1911** and **3804**, see 141–2 n. The profit in the later year was smaller by about 4.6 per cent, see 273 n.

Ancient accounts are generally expected to be inaccurate. Here the accounting is good. Only three very small discrepancies have been detected or suspected, see 141–2 n., 168 n., 213–17 n.

There are several interesting details, such as the value of the solidus in terms of denarii deducible from 271 and 272, see nn., and the entries relating to boatbuilding, irrigation works, and machinery for making oil.

col. i

]
]
]
] (vac.)
]
]
]ιδ γ′ κδ (δην.μυρ.) ⌐ac
]δ ∟ γ′ κδ μη ϙς′
]. μη
]γ γ′ κδ μη ϙς′
]γ ∟ d μη
]ζ γ′
]γ[ο(μ.)] ζ βʃ μη
] γο(μ.) ι ιβ [. . .].
] νο(μ.) γ γ′ κδ ϙς′
] νο(μ.) ια ∟ γ′ η
] νο(μ.) d ϙς′
] νο(μ.) α κδ′
] (vac.)
]′

1 ⌐ac throughout 2 ∟ = ½, and so throughout 5 d = ¼, and so throughout 7 βʃ = ⅔, and so throughout 9 ν, and so throughout

col. ii

π(αρὰ) . . . . . ἀπὸ το]ῦ αὐτοῦ κτήμα(τος) νο(μ.) α ∟ κδ μη
π(αρὰ) . . . . .] δι(ὰ) Ἰσὰκ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήμα(τος) νο(μ.) α ∟ κδ μη
π(αρὰ) κλ]ηρ(ονόμων) Θέωνος ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήμα(τος) νο(μ.) β ∟ ιβ μη
π(αρὰ) Δι]δύμου Ἰσὰκ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήμα(τος) νο(μ.) βʃ μη
π(αρὰ) Ἀ]είωνος Πεκυσίου καὶ Ἰωάννου Γερμανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νο(μ.) . .
π(αρὰ) τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀείωνος Πεκυσίου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νο(μ.) β γ′ μη
π(αρὰ) Πεκυσί[ο]υ καὶ Ἡρακλείδου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νο(μ.) α ∟ κδ μη
π(αρὰ) Πουλῖτος δι(ὰ) Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νο(μ.) β ∟ d μη
π(αρὰ) Παύλο[υ Φ]οιβάμμωνος ἐπίκλην Ψαλεπτῆβε νο(μ.) γ η
π(αρὰ) κληρ(ονόμων) [. . .]. οῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νο(μ.) [. .] κδ μη
π(αρὰ) Ἡρακλείδου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νο(μ.) [.] ∟ η μη
π(αρὰ) κληρ(ονόμων) Λεωνίδου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νο(μ.) α γ′ κδ μη
π(αρὰ) κληρ(ονόμων) Θεοδώρου καὶ κοιν(ωνῶν) ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νο(μ.) γ βʃ η μη ϙς′
π(αρὰ) τῶν αὐτῶν κληρ(ονόμων) Θέωνος ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτ[ή]μα(τος) νο(μ.) ϵ d
π(αρὰ) Φοιβάμμωνος πρεσβυτέρ(ου) ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νο(μ.) β
π(αρὰ) τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κτήμα(τος) ὑπὲρ συντελ(είας) κεφαλ(ῆς) νο(μ.) α
π(αρὰ) τῶν αὐτῶν γεωρ(γῶν) ὑπὲρ φόρ(ου) περιστεραιῶνος νο(μ.) ∟
π(αρὰ) Ἀβρααμίου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήμα(τος) νο(μ.) βʃ μη
π(αρὰ) Λεωνίδου καὶ Δανιηλίου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήμα(τος) νο(μ.) ιϵ ∟ η
π(αρὰ) τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) καὶ ἀμπελουρ(γῶν) ὑπὲρ ἀποτάκ(του) χωρ(ίων) νο(μ.) μγ ∟
ἐποικ(ίου) Πακιάκ
π(αρὰ) Ἀπολλῶ καὶ Κυριακοῦ ἀπὸ Πακιάκ νο(μ.) ια ϛ′ κδ
π(αρὰ) Γερμανοῦ Ἀφηγχίου δι(ὰ) Φοιβάμμων[ο]ς Ἰσὰκ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νο(μ.) θ ∟ γ′ κδ μη
π(αρὰ) Μουσαίου Ἀπφοῦτος δι(ὰ) Ἀπολλῶ ἀ[πὸ] τοῦ αὐτοῦ νο(μ.) θ ∟ γ′ κδ μη
π(αρὰ) κληρ(ονόμων) Πέτρου πρεσβυτέρ(ου) ἀπὸ το[ῦ αὐτοῦ]νο(μ.) α ϛ′
(vac.)
(γίνεται) νο(μ.) ρλ ∟ κδ ϙς′ [ ](vac.) [

15 κτημ$^{\alpha}_{\alpha}$, and so throughout 17 κλ]ηρρʃ, and so throughout 20 π/, and so throughout 22 δι/, and so throughout 27 κοιν/, and so throughout 29 πρεσβυτερ/, and so throughout 30 κοιν/, and so throughout, ὑπερ, and so usually, συντελ/κεφαλ/, and so usually 31 γεωρρʃ, and so throughout, φορ/; l. περιστερεῶνος 34 αμπελουρρ/, and so throughout, αποτακ/χωρρʃ, and so throughout 35 εποικ/, and so throughout 40 / = (γίνεται), and so throughout

col. iii

π(αρὰ) τοῦ αὐτοῦ Μουcαίου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
κτήμα(τοc) νο(μ.) α ∟ κδ μη
π(αρὰ) τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κτήμα(τοc) νο(μ.) ϛ d
π(αρὰ) Ἀφηγχίου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νο(μ.) β ιβ
π(αρὰ) κληρ(ονόμων) Πέτρου πρεcβυτέρ(ου) δι(ὰ)
Δωροθέου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νο(μ.) ∟ μη
π(αρὰ) Φοιβάμμωνοc καὶ Μαρτυρίου καὶ Ἀπφο[ῦ]τοc
ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νο(μ.) ∟ d μη ϙϛ′
π(αρὰ) τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κτήμα(τοc)
ὑπὲρ φόρ(ου) φοινίκ(ων) καὶ cυντελ(είαc)
κεφαλ(ῆc) νο(μ.) ∟
π(αρὰ) τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) καὶ
ἀμπελουρ(γῶν) ὑπὲρ ἀποτάκ(του) χωρ(ίων) νο(μ.) ιγ ∟
ἐποικ(ίου) Κιc[c]ῶνοc
π(αρὰ) Τουᾶν Φοιβάμμωνοc νο(μ.) ια ϛ′ μη ϙϛ′
π(αρὰ) Παμοῦν Cιλουανοῦ καὶ κοιν(ωνῶν) ἀπὸ τοῦ
αὐτοῦ κτήμα(τοc) νο(μ.) η ιβ
π(αρὰ) Ψύρου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ cίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) δ νο(μ.) ∟ ιβ
π(αρὰ) Γερμανοῦ Κόπιc δι(ὰ) Ἀνοῦπ̣ κ̣α̣ὶ̣ κοιν(ωνῶν) νο(μ.) ι
π(αρὰ) Φοιβάμμωνοc Ἀείωνοc ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νο(μ.) ι
π(αρὰ) τοῦ αὐτοῦ Γερμανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ
αὐτοῦ κτήμα(τοc) νο(μ.) α κδ
π(αρὰ) τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) ὑπὲρ
cυντελ(είαc) κεφαλ(ῆc) νο(μ.) ∟ d καὶ (δην.μυρ.)
ἐποικ(ίου) Τριγήου
π(αρὰ) Φὶβ ἄπα Ὡρίωνοc δι(ὰ) Φοιβάμμωνοc
φρ(οντιcτοῦ) cίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ρνγ ∟ χο(ιν.) δ νο(μ.) κϛ γ′ η μη
π(αρὰ) κληρ(ονόμων) Διοcκορίδου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
κτήμα(τοc) νο(μ.) β ∟
π(αρὰ) Ἰωcὴφ ἑτέρ(ου) δι(ὰ) τοῦ αὐτοῦ Φοιβάμμωνοc
καὶ κοιν(ωνῶν) cίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ρε νο(μ.) θ ιβ μη ϙϛ′

46 φορ/φοινικ/, and so throughout 51 cιτ-̄ 52 l. Κόπιοc 55 ⁎⌒/ac 57 φρ/, cιτ-̄, χ° 59 ετερ/, cιτ.,

π(αρὰ) τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) ὑπὲρ cυντελ(είαc)
κεφ(αλῆc) καὶ φόρ(ου) φοινίκ(ων) νο(μ.) γ
π(αρὰ) τῶν αὐτῶν γεωρ(γῶν) τοῦ κτήμα(τοc) νο(μ.) β ϛ′ κδ
ἐποικ(ίου) Λουκίου
π(αρὰ) Cουροῦc Φοιβάμμωνοc καὶ κοιν(ωνῶν) δι(ὰ)
Παγένουc καὶ Ἰωcὴφ καὶ κοιν(ωνῶν) νο(μ.) ια
π(αρὰ) Παύλου Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Cουροῦc Ἰακὼβ καὶ
κοιν(ωνῶν) νο(μ.) δ ∟
π(αρὰ) Ἰcὰκ Παύλου ἀπὸ Κονκόν νο(μ.) ∟ d
π(αρὰ) Ἀμμωνίου Λουκίου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
κτήμα(τοc) νο(μ.) ε
(vac.)
(γίνεται) (ἀρτ.) cξβ ∟ χο(ιν.) δ νο(μ.) ρλα γ′ κδ μη ϙϛ′ καὶ (δην.μυρ.) /ac

60 cυντελ/κεφ/ 67 /-̄, χ°, ⁎⌒/ac

col. iv

π(αρὰ) Παμουθίου Ἰακὼβ δι(ὰ) Ἰωάννου Γεροντίου ἀπὸ τοῦ
αὐτοῦ κτήμα(τοc) cίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) λα d χο(ιν.) ε νο(μ.) ϛ γ′ ιβ
π(αρὰ) Πέτρου Ἀνουθίου δι(ὰ) Ἀπ[ο]λλῶ καὶ κοιν(ωνῶν) ἀπὸ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ cίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) λα d χο(ιν.) ε νο(μ.) ια βʃ κδ μη ϙϛ′
π(αρὰ) Φοιβάμμωνοc Ἀτρῆτοc καὶ Ἀτρῆτοc ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
κτήμα(τοc) cίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) λα d χο(ιν.) ε νο(μ.) ιϛ ϛ′ κδ
π(αρὰ) Cουροῦc Βίκτοροc καὶ Ἀπολλῶ Ἀείωνοc
cίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) λα d χο(ιν.) ε νο(μ.) η γ′ μη ϙϛ′
π(αρὰ) Ἀβρααμίου Ἰωcὴφ Παυῆτοc καὶ Ἰωcὴφ ἀδελφ(οῦ) νο(μ.) β ∟ γ′ η μη ϙϛ′
π(αρὰ) Ἀπολλῶ Ἰακὼβ δι(ὰ) Ἀνουθίου υἱοῦ νο(μ.) α ∟
π(αρὰ) Ἰωάννου Παύλου δι(ὰ) Ἀπολλῶ Γερμανοῦ καὶ Φιλέου νο(μ.) α ∟ γ′ ιβ
π(αρὰ) Πεκυcίου Παύλου ἀμπελ(ουργοῦ) δι(ὰ) Ἰωάννου Ἰcάκ νο(μ.) β ∟ μη ϙϛ′
π(αρὰ) Φοιβάμμωνοc Παμουθίου δι(ὰ) Ἀπολλῶ Οὐερῆτε νο(μ.) β κδ′
π(αρὰ) τοῦ αὐτοῦ Πεκυcίου καὶ κοιν(ωνῶν) ὑπὲρ φόρ(ου)
ἐλαιουργί(ου) νο(μ.) β ∟
π(αρὰ) Ἰωάννου Βίκτοροc νο(μ.) ϛ′ μη

68–71 cιτ-̄, χ° 72 αδελφ/ 73 υϊου 75 αμπελ/ 77 φορ/ελαιουργῑ

π(αρὰ) Ἀβρααμίου Ἡρακλείδου δι(ὰ) Ἰσὰκ υἱοῦ καὶ Ἀνουθίου Ἰωάννου . . . ρε νο(μ.) δ ιβ μη
π(αρὰ) Ἀκιὰρ Ἀνουθίου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήμα(τος) νο(μ.) α γ′ ιβ μη
π(αρὰ) Φοιβάμμωνος Ἰσὰκ δι(ὰ) Παμουθίου Ὀρσεντίου διακόνου νο(μ.) ∟ d
π(αρὰ) Ἰσὰκ Ἀείωνος Χωοῦτος δι(ὰ) Ἀνοῦπ υἱοῦ καὶ Ἀπφουᾶ νο(μ.) ∟ κδ μη
π(αρὰ) Πέτρου Ἀνουθίου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νο(μ.) ϛ′ μη
π(αρὰ) Ἰωσὴφ Πέτρου καὶ Ἀνουθίου Θεοδώρου καὶ Ἀβρααμίου ἀπ[ὸ] Ἀπελῆ νο(μ.) β βʃ
π(αρὰ) Ἀμμωνίου Παπνουθίου ἀπὸ Πεκτύ νο(μ.) β
π(αρὰ) Πέτρου Ἑρμίνου ἀπὸ Πεκτύ νο(μ.) α ∟
π(αρὰ) Ἰωάννου Βίκτορος καὶ Ἀκιὰρ Ἀνουθίου καὶ Πεκυσίου Παύλου καὶ κ̣ο̣μ̣(ωνῶν) νο(μ.) η
π(αρὰ) Ἀπολλῶ Γερμανοῦ καὶ Ἰωάννου Παύλου νο(μ.) ε γ′
π(αρὰ) Φοιβάμμωνος Ἰακὼβ διακ(όνου) καὶ Ἀβρααμίου νο(μ.) ζ ∟
π(αρὰ) Ἰσὰκ Ἀείωνος Χωοῦτος καὶ Φοιβάμμωνος Ἰακὼβ νο(μ.) γ γ′ κδ
π(αρὰ) Μουσαίου Ṭ̣σ̣ενησίου καὶ Πτολλίωνος ἀπὸ Ἀπελῆ νο(μ.) η d
π(αρὰ) Ἰσὰκ Μέλανος ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ ἰδίας γῆς
cίṭ̣(ου) (ἀρτ.) γ (vac.)
π(αρὰ) τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τῶν 'ἀπὸ' Λουκίου ὑπὲρ συντελ(είας) κεφαλ(ῆς) καὶ φόρ(ου) προβάτων νο(μ.) ϛ ϛ′
(vac.)
(γίνεται) (ἀρτ.) ρκη ∟ νο(μ.) ρη ϛ′ κδ μη

82 υἱου 89 διακ/ 92 cιṭ̄ 93 φορ/ 94 /-

col. v

π(αρὰ) Γερμανοῦ Φοιβάμμωνος δι(ὰ) Ἡρακλείδου Ἰωάννου νο(μ.) ∟ ḍ
π(αρὰ) τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) ὑπὲρ ἐκτάκ(των) τρύγης νο(μ.) γ′ ιβ (δην.μυρ.) υ
π(αρὰ) Ἰσὰκ καὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ κοιν(ωνῶν) νο(μ.) ϛ γ′ κδ μη ϙϛ′
π(αρὰ) Γεροντίου καὶ Πτολεμαίου δι(ὰ) Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ Ϛωφροσύνης νο(μ.) β

96 εκτακ/, and so throughout, ⁎ϖ

π(αρὰ) Φοιβάμμωνος δι(ὰ) Πέτρου χωλοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀρχελάου ἀπὸ Πεκτύ νο(μ.) β
π(αρὰ) Ἰσὰκ Ἀβ[ρ]α̣αμίου καὶ Ἀνουθίου Σουροῦς καὶ Ἰσὰκ καὶ Ἀνουθίου δικαίου Θεοδούλου νο(μ.) β γ′
π(αρὰ) τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) καὶ ἀμπελουρ(γῶν) ὑπὲρ ἀποτάκ(του) χωρ(ίων) ἐποικ(ίου) Ταρουσὲβτ δικαίου Διογένους νο(μ.) θ
π(αρὰ) Ἀλεκᾶ κ̣α̣ὶ̣ Παμουθίου πρεσβυτέρ(ου) δι(ὰ) Πισραῆλ καὶ κοιν(ωνῶν) cίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ρνη d χο(ιν.) ϛ νο(μ.) δ ∟
π(αρὰ) τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ προκειμέ(νων) γεωρ(γῶν) ὑπὲρ ἐκτάκ(των) τρύγης νο(μ.) ε ιβ′
π(αρὰ) Ἡρᾶ καὶ Φοιβάμμωνος δι(ὰ) Ἰωάννου καὶ Μηνᾶ νο(μ.) γ η μη ϙϛ′
π(αρὰ) Παύλου Πέτρου καὶ ἑτέρου Παύλου νο(μ.) ∟ η
π(αρὰ) κληρ(ονόμων) Α. . . τίου πρεσβυτέρ(ου) δι(ὰ) Ἀνουθίου πρεσβυτέρ(ου) νο(μ.) α ϛ′ μη
π(αρὰ) Ἀνουθίου Ἡρακλείδου δι(ὰ) Ἀνουθίου Σουροῦς νο(μ.) ∟ η
π(αρὰ) Πέτρου κ̣α̣ὶ̣ Φοιβάμμωνος δι(ὰ) Πισραῆλ νο(μ.) ∟ η
π(αρὰ) Ἰωάννου καὶ κληρ(ονόμων) Ἀλεκᾶ δι(ὰ) Ἰωάννου Παμοῦν νο(μ.) ∟ η
π(αρὰ) Παησίου δ̣ι̣(ὰ) Ἀτρῆτος καὶ Ἀπολλῶ νο(μ.) β ∟ κδ
π(αρὰ) Φοιβά[μμ]ωνος Πέτρου καὶ Πεκυσίου νο(μ.) d
π(αρὰ) τοῦ κ̣ο̣μ̣(οῦ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) δι(ὰ) Πεκυσίου καὶ Ἀνοῦπ νο(μ.) γ γ′ κδ
π(αρὰ) κληρ(ονόμων) Φιλέου ἀπὸ Λουκίου δι(ὰ) Ἰωάννου καὶ Ἀτρῆτος νο(μ.) β d
π(αρὰ) Ἰακὼ[β] κ̣[αὶ] Παμοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νο(μ.) β d
π(αρὰ) τοῦ α[ὐτ]ο̣ῦ̣ Ἰακὼβ Παμουθίου δι(ὰ) Μουσαίου ἀπὸ Ἀπελῆ νο(μ.) β d
π(αρὰ) Γερμα̣ν̣[οῦ] καὶ Ὥρου καὶ κοιν(ωνῶν) νο(μ.) β
π(αρὰ) Παύλο[υ] καὶ ἑτέρ(ου) Παύλου δι(ὰ) τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) νο(μ.) ε
π(αρὰ) τοῦ κ[ο]μ̣(οῦ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) δι(ὰ) Ὥρου καὶ κοιν(ωνῶν) νο(μ.) ϛ
π(αρὰ) τοῦ κ̣ο̣μ̣(οῦ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) δι(ὰ) Πεκυσίου καὶ Ἀτρῆτος καὶ κοιν(ωνῶν) ὑπὲρ ἐδάφ(ους) Φηλταν̣βέλ νο(μ.) γ ∟ d
(vac.)
(γίνεται) (ἀρτ.) ρνη d χο(ιν.) ϛ νο(μ.) οβ καὶ (δην.μυρ.) υ

99 υἱου 104 προκειμ̄ 118 ετερ/ 120 εδαφ/, and so throughout 121 /-, χ^ο, ⁎ϖ

col. vi

π(αρὰ) Φοιβάμμωνος καὶ Πέτρου ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νο(μ.) α ∟
π(αρὰ) Πραοῦτος ἀπὸ Λουκίου νο(μ.) ∟
π(αρὰ) Σερήνου καὶ Παύλου ἀπὸ Ταρουσέβτ νο(μ.) α η μη
π(αρὰ) τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήμα(τος) Ταρουσὲβτ ἀπὸ (ἀρουρῶν) ιβ
ἐδάφ(ους) Διογένους ς̄ μὲν καλούμε(ναι) νότιν(αι), αἱ δὲ ἄλλ(αι) ς καλούμε(ναι) βορρ(ιναί) νο(μ.) ϵ
ἐποικ(ίου) Κοτυλεείου δικαίου τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου
π(αρὰ) Παύλου καὶ Ἐνὼχ ἀπὸ Κοτυλεείου δικαίου Ἀπολλῶ
σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) πζ νο(μ.) ιγ
π(αρὰ) Ἰωάννου φρ(οντιστοῦ) καὶ κοιν(ωνῶν) δικαίου Φοιβάμμωνος
σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) πζ νο(μ.) ιγ
π(αρὰ) Ἀπολλῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐποικ(ίου) σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ξϵ d νο(μ.) θ ∟ d
π(αρὰ) Πτολλίωνος δι(ὰ) Παοῦνι πρεσβυτέρ(ου) σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) μγ ∟ νο(μ.) ς ∟
π(αρὰ) Γερμανοῦ γεωρ(γοῦ) ὑπὲρ μηχ(ανῆς) Μεγάλου Γῃδίου
σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) με νο(μ.) ς
π(αρὰ) τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) δι(ὰ) Σμαράγδου νοταρ(ίου) ὑπὲρ μηχ(ανῆς) Νήσου σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) μβ νο(μ.) ι
π(αρὰ) Φοιβάμμωνος πρεσβυτέρ(ου) ὑπὲρ ἐδάφ(ους) Ἀκανθῶνος νο(μ.) β
π(αρὰ) τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) καὶ ἀμπελουρ(γῶν) ὑπὲρ ἐδάφ(ους) τῶν ἀμπελουρ(γῶν) νο(μ.) ιγ ∟
π(αρὰ) τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) ὑπὲρ ἐδάφ(ους) Ἔρωτος καὶ Ἀμάτου νο(μ.) ιγ
π(αρὰ) τοῦ κοιν(οῦ) τῶν γεωρ(γῶν) ὑπὲρ φόρ(ου) περιστεραιῶνος νο(μ.) ∟
π(αρὰ) Τουᾶν ἀπὸ Ταρουθίνου σίτ(ου) κ(αγκέλλῳ) (ἀρτ.) κς νο(μ.) α ∟
(vac.) καὶ ἀπὸ δικαίου Ἀθανασίου
π(αρὰ) Ἰωσὴφ Πανεχωῦτος ὑπὲρ δικαίου Ἀθανασίου νο(μ.) ια
(vac.)

† γί(νεται) λημμ(άτων) ιδ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) σίτ(ου) μέτρ(ῳ) (ἀρτ.) ατιβ d χο(ιν.) ϵ, αἱ κ(αγκέλλῳ) (ἀρτ.) ἐξ (ἑκατοστῶν) (ἀρτ.) ιε κ(αγκέλλῳ) (ἀρτ.) αφθ d χο(ιν.) α καὶ κ(αγκέλλῳ) (ἀρτ.) κς, (γίνεται) σίτ(ου) κ(αγκέλλῳ) (ἀρτ.) αφλϵ d χο(ιν.) α, καὶ ἀργυρικ(ῶν) νο(μ.) χμζ η′ καὶ ἀργυρ(ίου) (δην.μυρ.) βω.

126 καλουμ̄νοτιν/, αλλ/, καλουμ̄βορρ∫ 127 νϊων 128–33 σιτ· 129 φρ/ 132 γεωρ/, μηᵡ 133 νοταρ/, μηᵡ 137 φορ/; l. περιστερεῶνος 138 σιτκ· 141 γι/λημμ∫, ινδ/σιτμετρ/ₜ, χ°, αικ·εξρρ/ₜ, κₜ, χ° 142 κₜ, /σιτκₜ, αργυρικ/, αργυρ/ ⁎ ∩

col. vii

† ἐξ ὧν ἀνηλώθ(η) ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ιδ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) δ(ιὰ) τοῦ αὐτοῦ Θεοδώρου οὕτως:—
εἰς τὰς ἁγί(ας) ἐκκλησί(ας) τῶν ἐξῆς κτημά(των) κατὰ τὸ ἔθος σίτ(ου) [κ(αγκέλλῳ)] (ἀρτ.) κς ∟ χο(ιν.) δ νο(μ.) δ d π(αρὰ κεράτια) δ ∟ d οὕτως:—
ἐκκλ(ησία) Ἀπελῆ (ἀρτ.) δ νο(μ.) ∟ π(αρὰ κερ.) ∟
ἐκκλ(ησία) Πακιάκ (ἀρτ.) γ νο(μ.) ∟ π(αρὰ κερ.) ∟
ἐκκλ(ησία) Κισσῶνος (ἀρτ.) γ νο(μ.) ∟ π(αρὰ κερ.) ∟
ἐκκλ(ησία) Κοτυλεείου (ἀρτ.) δ νο(μ.) ∟ π(αρὰ κερ.) ∟
ἐκκλ(ησία) Ταρουσέβτ (ἀρτ.) δ ∟ χο(ιν.) δ νο(μ.) d π(αρὰ κερ.) ∟ d
ἐκκλ(ησία) Τριγήου (ἀρτ.) δ νο(μ.) ∟ π(αρὰ κερ.) ∟
ἐκκλ(ησία) Ἰσίου Παγγᾶ (vac.) νο(μ.) α π(αρὰ κερ.) α
ἐκκλ(ησία) Λουκίου (ἀρτ.) δ νο(μ.) ∟ π(αρὰ κερ.) ∟, τὰ προκ(είμενα).
τοῖς κληρ(ονόμοις) Μηνᾶ ναύτου ἀπὸ Κόμα ὑπὲρ ἐμβολ(ῆς) ἀπὸ γενήμα(τος) ιδ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) σίτ(ου) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ρϘβ ∟ χο(ιν.) ζ, καὶ λόγ(ῳ) ναύλ(ου) Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) ζυγ(ῷ) Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μ.) α d μη Ϙς′, τὰ ἰδ(ιωτικῷ) νο(μ.) α γ′ κδ Ϙς′, (γίνεται) σίτ(ου) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ρϘβ ∟ χο(ιν.) ζ, νο(μ.) α γ′ κδ Ϙς′
τοῖς πλινθ(ευταῖς) πλινθ(εύουσιν) ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς κτήμα(σιν) ὑπὲρ μισθ(οῦ) ὀπτῆς πλίνθ(ου) (μυριάδων) ις̄ σὺν μισθ(ῷ) οἰκοδόμ(ου) σίτ(ου) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ιβ, νο(μ.) δ π(αρὰ κερ.) ιδ οὕτως:—
Ἀπελῆ (μυρ.) δ, Πακιὰκ (μυρ.) α, Κοτυλεείου (μυρ.) δ, Κισσῶνος (μυρ.) α ∟, Τριγήου (μυρ.) α ∟,
Λουκίου (μυρ.) β, Ταρουσὲβτ (μυρ.) β, αἱ προκείμ(εναι).
τῷ προν(οητῇ) ὑπὲρ λόγ(ου) ὀψωνίου κατὰ τὸ ἔθος σίτ(ου) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) κδ, νο(μ.) β π(αρὰ κερ.) ϵ
τῷ ἐργοδιώκ(τῃ) ἐποικ(ίου) Ἀπελῆ καὶ Κισσῶνος νο(μ.) α π(αρὰ κερ.) γ ∟, καὶ τῷ ἐργοδ(ιώκτῃ) Λουκίου νο(μ.) α π(αρὰ κερ.) γ ∟, καὶ τῷ ἐργοδ(ιώκτῃ) Νετνήου καὶ Κοτυλεείου νο(μ.) α βʃ π(αρὰ κερ.) ϵ ∟ d, καὶ τῷ ἐργοδιώκ(τῃ) ἐποικ(ίου) Τριγήου καὶ Ταρουσὲβτ καὶ Ἀντᾶ καὶ Νήσου Λευκαδίου νο(μ.) α γ′ π(αρὰ κερ.) δ ∟ d (γίνεται) νο(μ.) ϵ π(αρὰ κερ.) ιζ ∟

143 ανηλω̄, ινδ/δ/ 144 αγ̈ϊεκκλησῑ, κτημμ̄, π/ = π(αρὰ κεράτια), and so throughout 145–8 εκκλ/ throughout 148 παγ'γα, προκ/ 149 εμβολ/, γενημ̄, λογʃ, and so throughout 150 ναυλ/αλεξʃζυγʃαλεξʃ, ιδ/ 151 πλιν̄ (ter), κτημμ̄, μισ̄ (bis), οικοδομʃ 151–3 ∩ = (μυριάς) 153 προκειμ̄ 154 προν/ 155 εργοδιωκ/, εργοδ/ (bis) 156 εργοδιωκ/

συνεχωρήθ(η) τοῖς ἀπὸ Τριγήου κατὰ τὸ ἔθος σίτ(ου) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ι *νο(μ.) βʃ η*
συνεχωρήθ(η) τοῖς ἀπὸ Τριγήου ὑπὲρ φόρ(ου) φοινίκ(ων) καὶ συντελ(είας) κεφαλ(ῆς) κατὰ τὸ ἔθος *νο(μ.) γ*
συνεχωρήθ(η) τοῖς ἀπὸ Τριγήου ὑπὲρ φόρ(ου) γηδίου Φανχὸχ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος *νο(μ.) α*
συνεχωρήθ(η) Ἰσὰκ Σιρίου ἀπὸ Ἀπελῆ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος *νο(μ.) α*
συνεχωρήθ(η) τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀπελῆ ὑπὲρ ψαμμοχώστου καὶ λίμνης ἐδάφ(ους) Νελὸκ ὑπὲρ (ἀρουρῶν) ϵ d η,
τῇ (ἀρούρᾳ) α νο(μ.) ∟ d, νο(μ.) δ μη ϙ′ (γίνεται)
νο(μ.) δ μη ϙ′. (margin) *χρὴ ζητῆσαι ψ(πὲρ?) ῑγ̄ καὶ ῑδ̄ νο(μ.) η κδ μη καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς κουφισθῆν(αι).*
τοῖς γεωρ(γοῖς) τοῦ κτήμα(τος) Κοτυλεείου ὑπὲρ ἐνχόρτ(ου) ἀμπελ(ῶνος) ἀπὸ (ἀρ.) ιγ (ἀρ.) ιβ d, τῇ (ἀρ.) α νο(μ.) βʃ, *νο(μ.) η ϛ′*
εἰς τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγί(ου) Σερήνου κατὰ δωρεὰν Ἀπολλῶ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἐν κτήμα(τι)
Ταρουθίνου δικαίου τοῦ κτήμα(τος) Κοτυλεείου κατὰ τὸ ἔθος σίτ(ου) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) κϛ, νο(μ.) α ∟, καὶ κατὰ δωρεὰν
Φοιβάμμωνος υἱοῦ τοῦ ἐπισκόπ(ου) ἐν κτήμα(τι) Κοτυλεείου ἐκ τοῦ ἐδάφ(ους) Ἥρωτος καὶ Ἀμάτου καὶ τῶν
ἀμπελουρ(γῶν) νο(μ.) β (γίνεται) σίτ(ου) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) κϛ, νο(μ.) γ ∟.
(vac.)
(γίνεται) (ἀρτ.) ϲϙα d χο(ιν.) α, καὶ νο(μ.) λη ιβ μη ϙ′ π(αρὰ κερ.) μα d/.

157–61 *συνεχωρ*$^{\theta}_{\eta}$ 159 *φορ/* 161–2 $\frac{\psi}{\upsilon}$ = (ἄρουρα), and so throughout 162 (margin) *ψ = ὑπέρ?, κουφισθην'* 163 *ενχορτ∫*: l. *ἐγχόρτ(ου); αμπελ/* 164 *αγ̄ῑ, νῑου* 166 *νῑου, επισκοπ∫*

col. viii

συνεχωρήθ(η) τοῖς γεωρ(γοῖς) μηχ(ανῆς) τοῦ νέου λάκκου ἐν ἐποικ(ίῳ) Κοτυλεείου σπειρομέ(νης) ποτὲ
π(αρὰ) Σμαράγδου νοταρ(ίου), νυνὶ δὲ δ(ιὰ) Παύλου Κουειέχος ἀκολούθ(ως) τύπῳ δοθ(έντι) αὐτῷ ἀπὸ
σίτ(ου) μέτρ(ῳ) (ἀρτ.) μβ καὶ νο(μ.) ι, ἀφ'(ὧν) ὑπὲρ λιψεδαφ(ίας) καὶ ποταμοφορ(ήτου) ὑπὸ τῆς διακόπου νο(μ.) γ ϛ′,

169 *συνεχωρ*$^{\theta}_{\eta}$, and so throughout; *μη*$^{\chi}$, and so throughout, *σπειρομ*$^{\epsilon}$ 170 *νοταρ/, δ/, ακολου*$^{\theta}$, *δο*$^{\theta}$
171 *σιτμετρ/, αφ/, λιψεδαφ/, ποταμοφορ/, ὑπο*

λοιπ(ὰ) (ἀρτ.) μβ καὶ νο(μ.) ϛ ∟ γ′, ἀφ'(ὧν) κουφίζ(εται) ὁμοί(ως) διὰ τὸ ταύτην θρυώδη{ϲ} καὶ καλαμοκεντρίτιδος
ἐπὶ νιλοβρόχ(ου) κατὰ τὸ γ′ μέρ(ος) σίτ(ου) μέτρ(ῳ) (ἀρτ.) ιδ, αἳ κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ἐξ (ἑκατοστῶν) (ἀρτ.) ιϵ (ἀρτ.) ιϛ χο(ιν.) δ καὶ νο(μ.) β d
(γίνεται) τοῦ κουφισμοῦ σίτ(ου) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ιϛ χο(ιν.) δ, νο(μ.) ϵ γ′ ιβ.
(γίνεται) σίτ(ου) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ιϛ χο(ιν.) δ, νο(μ.) ϵ γ′ ιβ
τοῖς ἀπὸ Ταρουσὲβτ ὑπὲρ λοιπάδ(ων) ἐνχόρτ(ου) (ἀρ.) β κατὰ τὸ ἔθος *νο(μ.) α γ′*
τοῖς γεωρ(γοῖς) τοῦ κτήμα(τος) Κοτυλεείου ὑπὲρ τῶν (ἀρ.) ϵ φυτευθ(εισῶν) ἐν ἀμπέλ(ῳ) κατὰ λίβα τοῦ κτήμα(τος)
Κοτυλεείου ἐπὶ τῆς η̄ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) καρπ(ῶν) θ̄ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ιδ̄ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) σίτ(ου) μέτρ(ῳ) (ἀρτ.) ιδ ∟ καὶ νο(μ.) α βʃ, αἳ κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ιϛ ∟ χο(ιν.) ζ, νο(μ.) α βʃ
συνεχωρήθ(η) τοῖς γεωρ(γοῖς) τοῦ κτήμα(τος) Λουκίου ὑπὲρ τῆς ποταμοφορ(ήτου) αὐτῶν γῆς
ὑπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων τῆς διακόπου ἐκ νότου τοῦ κτήμα(τος) Λουκίου σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) ζ ∟ χο(ιν.) β καὶ
νο(μ.) α ∟ ιβ μη ϙ′, αἳ κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) η ∟ χο(ιν.) ζ.
(γίνεται) σίτ(ου) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) η ∟ χο(ιν.) ζ, νο(μ.) α ∟ ιβ μη ϙ′
τοῖς ἑξῆς ἐγγεγραμμ(ένοις) γεωρ(γοῖς) ἀπὸ κτήμα(τος) Κοτυλεείου ὑπὲρ τῆς ξυσθ(είσης) αὐτῶν γῆς σίτ(ου) (ἀρτ.) λζ, αἳ κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) μβ ∟ χο(ιν.) β, νο(μ.) γ ∟ γ′ μη *οὕτως:—*
Πέτρῳ καὶ Ἡσαΐᾳ καὶ Ἰὼβ (ἀρτ.) ιβ νο(μ.) . . *Ἡσαΐᾳ καὶ Φιλέᾳ καὶ κοιν(ωνοῖς) (ἀρτ.) ιβ νο(μ.) . .*
Ἰωσὴφ καὶ Φὶβ καὶ κοιν(ωνοῖς) (ἀρτ.) θ νο(μ.) . ϰ̣θ̣ μη *Πέτρῳ γεωρ(γῷ) μηχ(ανῆς) τῆς [. .]ϲι( ) (ἀρτ.) δ νο(μ.) . ., αἱ προκ(είμεναι).*
εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον ἀββᾶ Ἀνδρέου κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ὑπὲρ νο(μ.) ν π(αρὰ κερ.) ϲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ιδ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) σίτ(ου) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ⌞α καὶ
ἐν τῇ ἡμέρ(ᾳ) τοῦ μεγάλου ἀνθρώπου (ἀρτ.) ιβ
(γίνονται) σίτ(ου) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ⌞αιβ
εἰς τὸ μοναστήρ(ιον) ἀββᾶ Ἀνδρέου ὁμοί(ως) ἀπὸ γραμμ(άτων) ἐκ κελεύσεως τοῦ ἐν εὐαγεῖ τῇ μνήμῃ

172 *λοιπ∫, αφ/, κουφιζ/ομοι/* 173 *νιλοβροχ∫, μερ/σιτμετρ/* 174 *γι/* 175 *λοιπαδ∫ενχορτ∫*; l. *ἐγχόρτ(ου)* 176 *φυτευ*$^{\theta}$, *αμπελ/* 177 *ωδ/ (bis), καρπ∫, σιτμετρ/* 178 *ποταμοφορ/* 179 *ὑπο, ὕδατων* 181 *εγ'γεγραμμ∫, ξυσ*$^{\theta}$ 182 *ηεαϊα (bis)* 183 *γεωρ/, προκ/* 185 *ημερ/* 186 *μοναστηρ/, ομοι/, γραμμ∫*

πατρικίου Στρατηγίου ἀπὸ ε ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ιδ̄ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) κατὰ τὸ ἔθος
σίτ(ου) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ρ
συνεχωρήθ(η) Ἰωάννῃ καὶ Ἡρακλείῳ ἀπὸ κτήμα(τος) Λουκίου ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀφανισθ(είσης)
αὐτῶν γῆς τοῦ δικαίου
τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) Ναυατὲ διαφερούς(ης) τῷ αὐτῷ κτήμα(τι) Λουκίου ὑπὸ τῆς διακοπῆς
τῶν χωμάτ(ων)
ἐπὶ τῆς ιῡ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ὑπὲρ (ἀρ.) γ νο(μ.) β d καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ιδ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) νο(μ.)
β d. (γίνεται) νο(μ.) δ ⌊
συνεχωρήθ(η) Νῶε καὶ Πέτρῳ ἀπὸ Κοτυλεείου ἀμπελουρ(γοῖς) τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήμα(τος)
Κοτυλεείου ὑπὲρ τῆς
ἀφανισθ(είσης) καὶ ξυσθ(είσης) αὐτῶν γῆς ὑπὸ τῆς διακοπ(ῆς) τῶν ὑδάτων (ἀρουρῶν)
δ νο(μ.) β
συνεχωρήθ(η) Φιλέᾳ γεωρ(γῷ) καὶ κοιν(ωνοῖς) ἀπὸ Κοτυλεείου ὑπὲρ ἐδάφ(ους) Ἀθανασίου
νο(μ.) α γ′

(vac.)

(γίνεται) (ἀρτ.) ͵αρϛ καὶ νο(μ.) ιζ ⌊ γ′ μη ϛ′, ἄλλ(α) νο(μ.) γ ⌊γ′ μη.
(γίνεται) νο(μ.) κα βʃ κδ ϛ′.

188 αφανισ$^{\theta}$ 189 διαφερουςʃ, χωματʃ 192 αφανισ$^{\theta}$, ξυσ$^{\theta}$, διακοπʃ, ὑδατων 194 αλλ/

col. ix

συνεχωρήθ(η) Ἀβρααμίῳ ἀπὸ Λουκίου ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀφανισθ(είσης) αὐτοῦ γῆς
νο(μ.) α ⌊ ιβ μη ϛ′

(vac.)

καὶ ἐν αὐτουργί(ᾳ) δικαίου τοῦ κτήμα(τος) Ταρουσὲβτ οὕτως:—
ἐδάφ(ους) Παπὰρ ὀνόμα(τος) Φοιβάμμωνος Πέτρου δι(ὰ) Πεκυσίου Ψαειᾶ
(ἀρ.) ⌊ d λβ νο(μ.) d
ἐδάφ(ους) Σχορδᾶ γεωργουμέ(νου) δι(ὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Λουκίου δικαίου Ταρουσὲβτ
(ἀρ.) . . . νο(μ.) ⌊
ἐδάφ(ους) Φηλταῤβὲλ γεωργουμέ(νου) π(αρὰ) Φιλέου Ψαειᾶ ἀπὸ Λουκίου δικαίου
Ταρουσὲβτ ἀπὸ (ἀρ.) ζ ⌊ (ἀρ.) δ ⌊ νο(μ.) γ ⌊ d
ἐδάφ(ους) Κονκὸν γεωργουμέ(νου) ποτὲ π(αρὰ) Κολλούθου ὀνόμα(τος) Πέτρου

195 συνεχωρ$^{\theta}$ῆ, αφανισ$^{\theta}$ 196 αυτουργῖ 197 ονομ$^{\alpha}$, and so throughout 198–200 γεωργουμ$^{\epsilon}$

Φοιβάμμωνος
ἀπὸ Ταρουσὲβτ ἀπὸ (ἀρ.) ζ ⌊ (ἀρ.) γ νο(μ.) α ⌊
ἐδάφ(ους) Πτυχῶν ὀνομά(των) Σερήνου καὶ Παύλου ἀπὸ Ταρουσὲβτ (ἀρ.) ᾳ d
νο(μ.) α η μη
ἐδάφ(ους) Βορρ(ινοῦ) δικαίου Διογένους ὀνομά(των) Παύλου καὶ ἑτέρου Παύλου
(ἀρ.) ϛ νο(μ.) ϵ (γίνεται) νο(μ.) ιβ η μη
καὶ ἐν αὐτουργί(ᾳ) δικαίου τοῦ κτήμα(τος) Λουκίου οὕτως:—
ὀνομά(των) Ἀνουθίου Ἀκιὰρ καὶ Πεκυσίου Παύλου ἐδάφ(ους) Σαραποδώρου ἀπὸ
(ἀρ.) ιβ (ἀρ.) ϛ νο(μ.) δ
ὀνομά(των) Ἰσὰκ Ἀμμωνίου καὶ κοιν(ωνῶν) καὶ τοῦ δικαίου τῶν μηχ(ανῶν) ἐδάφ(ους)
Σεύθου (ἀρ.) θ d νο(μ.) ϛ ⌊ γ′ ιβ μη
ὀνομά(των) Σουροῦς Φοιβάμμωνος καὶ κοιν(ωνῶν) τοῦ δικαίου τῆς Μεγάλ(ης) Οὐσί(ας)
(ἀρ.) γ νο(μ.) β d
ὀνόμα(τος) Ἀτρῆτος Φοιβάμμωνος ἐδάφ(ους) Παγένι (ἀρ.) β νο(μ.) α ⌊
ὀνόμα(τος) Πεκυσίου Παύλου ἐδάφ(ους) Καμῆ (ἀρ.) β νο(μ.) α ⌊
καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου τῶν μηχ(ανῶν) ἐδάφ(ους) Θατρῆτος ἐκ νότου τοῦ κτήμα(τος)
Κοτυλεείου (ἀρ.) β ⌊ νο(μ.) α ⌊ γ′ κδ
ὀνόμα(τος) Ἰακὼβ Ἀμμωνίου ἐδάφ(ους) μαρτυρίου Ἀκακίου (ἀρ.) α ⌊ d
νο(μ.) α ιβ ϛ′
ὀνόμα(τος) Φοιβάμμωνος Ἰακὼβ δι(ὰ) Ὁρσεντίου διακ(όνου) καὶ κοιν(ωνῶν) ἐδάφ(ους)
Κρισκεντίου (ἀρ.) γ ⌊ νο(μ.) β ⌊ η μη
(γίνεται) (ἀρ.) λ νο(μ.) κα βʃ η ϛ′
τοῖς ποταμ(ίταις) ἀνορύξασι νέον λάκκ(ον) ἐν κτήμα(τι) Πακιὰκ ἐν τῇ μηχ(ανῇ)
λεγομέ(νῃ) Τοῦ Κτήμα(τος) ὑπὸ Ἰακκώβον
καὶ κοιν(ὸν) γεωρ(γῶν) ἐπὶ τῆς ιδ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ὑδροπαροχ(ίας) καὶ καρπ(ῶν) ιε
λόγ(ῳ) μισθ$^{\theta}$(οῦ) νο(μ.) α π(αρὰ) κερ.) δ ⌊ καὶ λόγ(ῳ)
δαπάν(ης)
σίτ(ου) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) α καὶ ὑπὲρ τιμ(ῆς) ταρίχ(ων) καὶ ἐλαί(ου) καὶ κρέ(ως)
προβατίνου ἀργυρ(ίου) (δην.μυρ.) χ καὶ τῷ οἰκοδόμ(ῳ) καὶ
τέκτονι

203 βορρʃ 204 αυτουργῖ 207 μεγαλ/ουσῖ 210 μη^{xx} 212 διακ/ 213 ποταμʃ, λακκ/, λεγομ$^{\epsilon}$ 214 ὑδροπαρο^{x}, καρπʃ, μισ$^{\theta}$, δαπαν/ 215 τιμʃταρι^{x}, ελαι/, κρ$^{\epsilon}$/, αργυρ/, οικοδομʃ

καὶ ἐπικειμέ(νῳ) λόγ(ῳ) ἀναλ(ωμάτων) cίτ(ου) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) δ καὶ ἀργυρ(ίου) (δην.μυρ.) /ας καὶ ὑπὲρ τιμ(ῆς) λίθ(ων) ἀγορασθ(έντων) εἰς οἰκοδομὴν
τοῦ αὐτοῦ λάκκ(ου) νο(μ.) β π(αρὰ κερ.) θ, τοῦ cίτου φερομέ(νου) εἰς τὸν λόγ(ον) τῆς ïε, τοῦ δὲ χρυcί(ου) ἐνεχθ(έντος) εἰς τοῦτον τὸν λόγ(ον) νο(μ.) γ π(αρὰ κερ.) ιγ ∟ καὶ (δην.μυρ.) /ας
ὑπὲρ τιμ(ῆς) παλαι(ῶν) κούφ(ων) /αρ ἀγορασθ(έντων) καὶ δοθ(έντων) τοῖc ἀμπελουρ(γοῖc) Κοτυλεείου καὶ Ταρουcὲβτ πρὸc καταγγιcμὸν
οἴν(ου) ῥύceως ϊδ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) Μecορὴ κ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) (vac.)
νο(μ.) α π(αρὰ κερ.) δ ∟
(vac.)
(γίνεται) νο(μ.) λθ ∟ κδ μη π(αρὰ κερ.) ιη καὶ (δην.μυρ.) /ας

216 επικειμ, αναλ/, αργυρ/, τιμλιαγορας 217 λακκ/, φερομ, χρυcϊενεχ 218 τιμπαλαι/κουφ/, αγορας, δο, κατ'αγγιcμον 219 οιν/

col. x

Ἀπανακίῳ ποταμίτῃ ἐργαζομέ(νῳ) εἰc τὴν ψαλλίδα τοῦ λάκκου τῆc μηχ(ανῆc) Παρὰ Ποταμὸν τοῦ κτήμα(τοc)
Τριγήου νοτίνου λόγ(ῳ) μιcθ(οῦ) τέωc Παχὼν ιγ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιδ
νο(μ.) α π(αρὰ κερ.) δ ∟
Ἀπολλῷ ποταμίτῃ ⸗καὶ τοῖc ἑταίρ(οιc) αὐτοῦ⸗ προcχώcαντι τὴν μίαν ἄρουρ(αν) τῆc ἀμπέλ(ου) τὴν ἀφανιcθ(εῖcαν) ὑπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων
ἐν ἐποικ(ίῳ) Ταρουcὲβτ ἐπὶ τῆc ιδ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ῥύc(εως) ιε λόγ(ῳ) μιcθ(οῦ) ἐν γ̄ πιττακ(ίοιc) Φαμενὼθ καὶ Φαρμοῦθι καὶ Ἐπεὶφ
νο(μ.) δ π(αρὰ κερ.) ιη
ὑπὲρ τιμ(ῆς) ζῴου ᾱ ἀγορασθ(έντος) π(αρὰ) Θεοδώρου πρ(ονοητοῦ) Ἀπελῆ εἰc χρείαν τοῦ βαδιcτικοῦ cτάβλου νο(μ.) δ ∟ π(αρὰ κερ.) κ ͵α
ὑπὲρ τιμ(ῆς) χλωρ(οῦ) (ἀρ.) . ἀγορασθ(ειc-) π(αρὰ) Ἀπολλῶ Λοcῖ ἀπὸ Πακιὰκ εἰc τροφ(ὰc) τῶν ζῴων τοῦ βαδιcτικ(οῦ)
cτάβλου ἐπὶ τῆc ιδ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) χλωροφαγί(ac) ιε Φαμενὼθ δ̄ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιδ
νο(μ.) α̣ π̣(αρὰ κερ.) δ̣ ∟

221 εργαζομ; l. ψαλίδα 222 μιc 223 εταιρρ, αρουρ/, αμπελ/, αφανιcὑπο, ὑδατων 224 ρυc, μιc, πιτ'τακ/ 225 τιμ, and so throughout, αγορας, and so throughout, πρ/ 226 τροφ/, βαδιcτικ/ 227 χλωροφαγ

ὑπὲρ ἤλων λι(τρῶν) ρλβ ἀγορασθ(ειcῶν) εἰc χρείαν τῆc διορθώcεωc τοῦ γεουχικ(οῦ) κατωτίου νο(μ.) δ π(αρὰ κερ.) ιη, ὁμοί(ωc) ὑπὲρ τιμ(ῆc)
ἤλων ἄλλ(ων) λι(τρῶν) ρλβ ἀγορασθ(ειcῶν) ἐπὶ μη(νὸc) Παῦνι κ̄ε νο(μ.) δ π(αρὰ κερ.) ιη καὶ ὑπὲρ τιμ(ῆc) ἐλαίου ἀγορασθ(έντος) εἰc χρείαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ
κατωτίου νο(μ.) β π(αρὰ κερ.) θ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ νοταρ(ίῳ) καὶ ἐπικειμέ(νῳ) τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατωτίου λόγ(ῳ) ἀναλ(ωμάτων) τῶν
[ἀπὸ] μη(νὸc) Φαρμοῦθι κη ἕωc Ἐπεὶφ ᾱ ἡμερ(ῶν) ξδ ἡμερουcί(ωc) κερ(ατίου) ∟ κερ(άτια) λβ (vac.?) νο(μ.) α γ′ π(αρὰ κερ.) ϛ
(γίνεται) νο(μ.) ια γ′ π(αρὰ κερ.) να
[ὑπὲρ τιμ(ῆc)] λεπιδίων ὁμοί(ωc) ἀγορασθ(έντων) εἰc χρείαν τοῦ γεουχικ(οῦ) κατωτίου Ἐπεὶφ κ̄ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιδ νο(μ.) α π(αρὰ κερ.) δ ∟
ὑπὲρ τ[ι]μ(ῆc) κηπαριccίων δ̄ ἀγορασθ(έντων) π(αρὰ) Ἀνοῦπ ἀτόπου ναύτου εἰc διόρθωcιν τοῦ αὐτοῦ γεουχικ(οῦ) κατωτίου
ἐπὶ μη(νὸc) Παχὼν ιδ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιδ νο(μ.) ιβ π(αρὰ κερ.) νδ
τοῖc πρίcταιc πρίcαcι κηπαρίccια ξύλα εἰc χρείαν τοῦ κατωτίου πλοί(ου) τοῦ ποτε τοῦ μακαρίου Cχολαcτικίου
μετὰ τὸ δοθ(ὲν) αὐτοῖc νο(μ.) α δι(ὰ) Φιλοξένου πρ(ονοητοῦ) Νετνήου καὶ νῦν δ(ιὰ) coῦ ἐπὶ μη(νὸc) Παῦνι ιᾱ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιδ νο(μ.) α π(αρὰ κερ.) δ ∟
ὑπὲρ τιμ(ῆc) μανδακ( ) καὶ cχοινί(ων) ἀγορασθ(έντων) εἰc χρείαν τῶν γεουχικ(ῶν) καμήλ(ων) Ἀθὺρ ιη ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιδ νο(μ.) β π(αρὰ κερ.) θ
τοῖc γ̄ καμηλαρ(ίοιc) λόγ(ῳ) ὀψωνίου τῆc ιδ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) Μεχεὶρ κᾳ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιδ cίτ(ου) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) μη νο(μ.) δ ∟ π(αρὰ κερ.) ια ͵α
ὑπὲρ τιμ(ῆc) χαρτῶν ἀγορασθ(έντων) εἰc χρείαν τῶν διφθερ(ῶν) καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ ἄλλ(ων) τοῦ γεουχικ(οῦ) χαρτουλαρίου
κατὰ τὸ ἔθοc καὶ ἐπὶ τῆc ιδ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) Ἀθὺρ ιγ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιδ
νο(μ.) γ π(αρὰ κερ.) ι ∟
τοῖc ἀγροφύλαξ(ι) ἐποικ(ίου) Λιθίνης φυλάττουcι τὸν χόρτον τῆc γεουχικ(ῆc) αὐτουργί(ac) τῆc Νοτίν(ηc) Παροpίου
ὑπὲρ ἐδάφ(ουc) Μεγάλου Γῃδίου Διογένουc (ἀρ.) μ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐδάφ(ουc) Ὀξιδᾶ (ἀρ.) κδ (γίνονται) (ἀρ.) ξδ λόγ(ῳ) μιcθ(οῦ)

228 λι, and so throughout, γεουχικ/, and so throughout 229 αλλ/, μῆ, and so throughout 230 νοταρ/, επικειμ, αναλ/ 231 ημερ/, ημερουcī 232 ομοι/ 235 πλοι/ 236 δο, πρ/, δ/ 237 μανδακ/, cχοινῖ, καμηλ/ 238 καμηλαρρ/ 239 διφθερ/, αλλ/ 241 αγροφυλαξ/, φυλατ'τουcι, αυτουργῖ, νοτιν/ 242 μιc

ἀντὶ χόρτου ἐπὶ τῆς ιγ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) καρπ(ῶν) ιδ προσάπαξ Χοίακ ι ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιδ νο(μ.) α ∟ π(αρὰ κερ.) ϛ ∟ d

ὑπὲρ τιμ(ῆς) χορτοσπέρμου ἀγορασθ(έντος) ἐν Ἄρεως τῇ κώμῃ δ(ιὰ) Φιλοξένου χορτοπαραλήμπτ(ου) εἰς χρείαν

τῆς γεουχικ(ῆς) αὐτουργί(ας) Πὰθ Ταμπεμοῦ καὶ Νοτίν(ης) Παρορ(ίου) ἐπὶ τῆς ιδ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) κατασπορ(ᾶς) ιε νο(μ.) δ ∟ π(αρὰ κερ.) ιϛ ∟

ὑπὲρ τιμ(ῆς) χορτοσπέρμ(ου) ὁμοί(ως) ἀγορασθ(έντος) π(αρὰ) Κοσμᾶ καὶ Φὶβ ἀπὸ Σινκαρὲτ δ(ιὰ) Ὀννωφρίου χορτοπαραλ(ήμπτου)

εἰς χρείαν τῆς γεουχικ(ῆς) αὐτουργί(ας) τῆς τε Πὰθ Ταμπεμοῦ καὶ Νοτίν(ης) Παρορίου μετὰ τὰ ἤδη

ἀγορασθ(έντα) πρώην ἐν Ἄρεως τῇ κώμῃ καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ μη(νὸς) Τῦβι ⟦β⟧ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιδ κατασπορ(ᾶς) ιε νο(μ.) γ π(αρὰ κερ.) ιγ ∟

ὑπὲρ τιμ(ῆς) ἐκχύσεως ᾱ ἀγορασθ(είσης) καὶ βληθ(είσης) εἰς τὴν μηχ(ανὴν) Τῶν Χωρ(ίων) ἐποικ(ίου) Ταρουσὲβτ ἐπὶ τῆς ιδ κατασπορ(ᾶς) ιε νο(μ.) ϛ′ π(αρὰ κερ.) ∟ d

(vac.)

(γίνονται) (ἀρτ.) μη καὶ νο(μ.) νδ ∟ π(αρὰ κερ.) ϛχθ ∟

243 καρπ∫ 244 χορτοπαραλημπτ∫ 245 αυτουργ̄ι, νοτιν/, κατασπορ/ 246 χορτοσπερμ∫ομοι/, δ/, χορτοπαραλ/ 247 αυτουργ̄ι, νοτιν/ 248 κατασπορ/ 249 βλη$^{\theta}$

col. xi

ὑπὲρ τιμ(ῆς) ἄρακος (ἀρτ.) λβ ἀγορασθ(εισῶν) εἰς κατασπορ(ὰν) τῶν γεουχικ(ῶν) ἀρουρ(ῶν) τῶν λιμνασθ(εισῶν) ἐκ δευτέρου

τῶν ἐν Πτυχῷ καὶ τῶν ἀρουρ(ῶν) ἄπα Ἀπολλῶ καὶ τῶν ἀρουρ(ῶν) π.ε.ε... τῆς Νοτίν(ης) Παρορίου

ἐπὶ τῆς ιγ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) κατασπορ(ᾶς) ιδ μὴ ἐνεχθ(είσης) εἰς τὴν ιγ νο(μ.) γ γ′κδ μη π(αρὰ κερ.) ιε ∟ d

ὑπὲρ μεταφορ(ᾶς) σίτου (ἀρτ.) ⟦αιβ⟧ δοθ(εισῶν) εἰς τὸ μοναστήρ(ιον) ⟦ἀββᾶ⟧ Ἀνδρέου κατὰ τὸ ἔθος νο(μ.) ⟦α⟧ ∟ π(αρὰ κερ.) ϵ d

Ἰωάννῃ νοταρ(ίῳ) καὶ ἐπικειμένῳ τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ γεουχικ(οῦ) κατωτίου λόγ(ῳ) ἀναλ(ωμάτων) ὁμοί(ως)

τῶν ἀπὸ μη(νὸς) Ἐπεὶφ β ἕως Μεσορὴ ι ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιδ ἡμερ(ῶν) λθ νο(μ.) β⟦ π(αρὰ κερ.) γ

251 κατασπορ/, αρουρ/, λιμνασ$^{\theta}$ 252 αρουρ/ (bis), νοτιν/ 253 κατασπορ/, ενεχ$^{\theta}$ 254 μεταφορ/, δο$^{\theta}$, μοναστηρ/ 255 νοταρ/, αναλ/ομοι/ 256 ημερ/

ὑπὲρ τιμ(ῆς) λεπιδίων ὁμοί(ως) ἀγορασθ(έντων) εἰς χρείαν τοῦ γεουχικ(οῦ) κατωτίου Ἐπεὶφ Λ̄ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιδ νο(μ.) α π(αρὰ κερ.) δ ∟

τοῖς τέκτοσι καλαφατίζουσιν τὸ φιλοκαλούμε(νον) κατῶτιν λόγ(ῳ) μισθ(οῦ) κατὰ δοκιμασί(αν)

Ἀπολλῶ ναυπηγοῦ τῆς Κυνῶν νο(μ.) ιη, ἐξ ὧν κουφίζ(εται) ὑπὲρ τῶν πριστῶν κατὰ τὸ δ′ μέρ(ος)

νο(μ.) δ ∟ καὶ τοῖς ναυπηγοῖς νο(μ.) δ, λοιπ(ὰ) νο(μ.) θ ∟, ἀφ᾽(ὧν) ἐδόθ(η) αὐτοῖς πρώην δ(ιὰ) Φιλοξένου πρ(ονοητοῦ)

Νετνήου νο(μ.) γ, λοιπ(ὰ) τὰ ὀφίλοντα δοθ(ῆναι) αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ συμπληρ(ώσεως) τοῦ μισθ(οῦ) τῶν τεκτόν(ων)

καλαφατιζομέ(νων) νο(μ.) ϛ∟ π(αρὰ κερ.) κδ d Μεσορὴ Ε̄ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιδ. (γίνεται) νο(μ.) ϛ ∟ π(αρὰ κερ.) κθ d

ὑπὲρ τιμ(ῆς) λίθ(ων) μυλοκοπικ(ῶν) ἀγορασθ(έντων) π(αρὰ) Σερήνου καὶ Μεγάλου μυλοκόπ(ων) εἰς κατασκευὴν

τοῦ νέου καλάθου τοῦ μυλαίου τοῦ γεουχικ(οῦ) ἐλαιουργί(ου) τοῦ κτήμα(τος) Ἀπελῆ ὑπὸ

Σαμουήλιον ἐλαιουρ(γὸν) καὶ κοιν(ωνοὺς) ἐπὶ τῆς ιδ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) καρπ(ῶν) ιε νο(μ.) α ϛ′, ἀφ᾽(ὧν) περιεσώθ(η)

ἐκ τῶν παλαι(ῶν) λίθ(ων) νο(μ.) ϛ′, λοιπ(ὰ) νο(μ.) α π(αρὰ κερ.) δ ∟ Ἐπεὶφ κα ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιδ (γίνεται) νο(μ.) α π(αρὰ κερ.) δ ∟

ὑπὲρ τιμ(ῆς) βοειδ(ίων) Β̄ καὶ ταύρων Β̄ καὶ δαμαλίῳν Β̄ καὶ ὀνοθηλ(είας) ᾱ ἀγορασθ(έντων)

π(αρὰ) Ἡρακλείου Παβάρι ἀπὸ Λουκίου εἰς χρείαν τῆς ἀρδείας τῆς γεουχικ(ῆς) αὐτουργί(ας) Ἔξω τῆς Πύλης νο(μ.) ιβ π(αρὰ κερ.) νδ

(vac.)

† γί(νεται) ἀναλωμά(των) ιδ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) σίτ(ου) κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) ⟦αφλε d χο(ιν.) α καὶ νο(μ.) ροθ ∟ γ′ η π(αρὰ κερ.) υε εἰς νο(μ.) ιϛ ∟ γ′ κδ, τὰ καθαρ(ὰ) νο(μ.) ρξγ ιβ′ καὶ

ἀπὸ πλεί(ονος) λόγ(ου) ιγ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) νο(μ.) δ ιβ ϙϛ′, (γίνεται) νο(μ.) ρξζ ϛ′ ϙϛ′ καὶ (δην.μυρ.) ⟦ας εἰς νο(μ.) d (γίνεται) νο(μ.) ρξζ γ′ ιβ ϙϛ′,

257 ομοι/ 258 φιλοκαλουμ$^{\epsilon}$, μισ$^{\theta}$, δοκιμασ̄ι 259 κουφιζ/, μερ/ 260 λοιπ∫, αφ/εδθ$^{\theta}$, δ/, πρ/ 261 λοιπ∫; l. ὀφείλοντα; δο$^{\theta}$, συμπληρ/, μισ$^{\theta}$, τεκτον/ 262 καλαφατιζομ$^{\epsilon}$ 263 λ$^{\theta}$ιμυλοκοπικ/, μυλοκοπ∫ 264 ελαιουργ̄ι, υπο 265 ελαιουρ/, καρπ∫, αφ/περιεσ$^{\theta}$ 266 παλαι/λ$^{\theta}$ι, λοιπ∫ 267 βοειδ∫: l. βοϊδ(ίων), ονοθηλ/ 269 αυτουργ̄ι 270 αναλωμ$^{\alpha}$, καθαρ/ 271 πλει/

ἀνθ'(ὧν) λημμ(άτων) τῆς αὐτῆς ιδ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) cίτου κ(αγκ.) (ἀρτ.) /αφλε d
χϙ(ιν.) α καὶ ἀργυρικ(ῶν) νο(μ.) χμζ η καὶ (δην.μυρ.) /βω εἰc
νο(μ.) ∟ κδ μη, (γίνεται) νο(μ.) χμζ βʃ μη.
πλήρ(ηc) ὁ cῖτοc, λοιπ(ὰ) δὲ ἀργυρ(ικῶν) νο(μ.) υπ ∟ ϙc'.
(vac.)
(γίνεται) νο(μ.) κc' κδ μη π(αρὰ κερ.) ριc' d

272 ἀνλημμʃ, αργυρικ/ 273 πληρ/, λοιπʃ, αργυρ/

col. xii

275 (ὧν) κατεβλήθ(η) ἐπὶ τὸν λαμπρ(ότατον) Ἀναστάcιον τραπεζ(ίτην) ἐν διαφόρ(οιc)
καταβολ(αῖc) οὕτωc:—
Τῦβι κε ἰνδ(ικτίωνοc) ιδ (vac.) cὺν ῥ(οπῇ) νο(μ.) c π(αρὰ κερ.) /αιβ (vac.)
Φαρμοῦθι κε ἰνδ(ικτίωνοc) ιδ cὺν ῥ(οπῇ) νο(μ.) c π(αρὰ κερ.) /ac
γί(νεται) τὰ καταβληθ(έντα) ἐπὶ τὸν λαμπρ(ότατον) Ἀναστάcιον τραπεζ(ίτην)
ἀκολούθ(ωc) ἐνταγί(οιc) οὖcι π(αρὰ) τῷ πρ(ονοητῇ)
νο(μ.) υ π(αρὰ κερ.) /βciβ εἰc νο(μ.) ϙβ c' τὰ καθαρ(ὰ) νο(μ.) τζ ∟ γ' λοιπ(ὰ)
νο(μ.) ροβ βʃ ϙc'
(ὧν) κατεβλήθ(η) τῷ αὐτῷ Ἀναcταcίῳ τραπεζ(ίτῃ) ἐπὶ μη(νὸc) Μecορὴ λ
ἰνδ(ικτίωνοc) ιδ
280 cὺν ῥ(οπῇ) νο(μ.) cλ π(αρὰ) κερ(άτια) /ατοε ∟ d εἰc νο(μ.) νζ d κδ μη ϙc' τὰ
καθαρ(ὰ) νο(μ.) ροβ βʃ ϙc'. πλήρ(ηc)
281 ὁ λόγοc †.
ἐλογίcθ(η) δὲ Ἀπολλῷ καὶ Ἠcαΐᾳ καὶ κοιν(ωνοῖc) ἀπὸ Ταρουcὲβτ μετὰ τὴν
cυμπλήρ(ωcιν) τοῦ
λόγ(ου) διὰ τὸ αὐτοὺc καταλεῖψαι τὸ κτῆμα καὶ . . ελθεῖν
εἰc τὸ μέγα ὄροc ὑπὲρ τῶν cυγχωρηθ(έντων) αὐτοῖc ἀπὸ νο(μ.) c νο(μ.) δ ὑπὲρ
ἐδαφ(ῶν)
285 Ἔρωτοc ἐπὶ τῆc ι'' ἰνδ(ικτίωνοc) καὶ μηκέτι ταῦτα cυγχωρηθ(ῆναι) ἐπὶ τῆc ια
καὶ ιβ
ἰνδ(ικτιώνων), ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τῆc ιγ καὶ ἐφεξῆc νο(μ.) η οὕτωc:—ὑπὲρ μὲν ιγ
ἰνδ(ικτίωνοc) νο(μ.) δ
καὶ ὑπὲρ ιδ νο(μ.) δ γί(νεται) τὰ προκείμε(να) νο(μ.) η φερόμε(να) ὑπὲρ
πλεί(ονοc) λόγ(ου)
τῶν β ἐπινεμήcεων εἰc τὸν λόγον τῆc ιε ἰνδ(ικτίωνοc).

275 ∟κατεβλήθ, λαμπρ/, τραπεζ/, διαφορρʃκαταβολ/ 276 cυνρ/ (bis) 277 γι/, καταβλήθ, λαμπρ/, τραπεζ/ακολουενταγῖ, πρ/ 278 καθαρ/, λοιπʃ 279 ∟κατεβλήθ, τραπεζ/ 280 cυνρ/, καθαρ/, πληρ/ 282 ελογιc, cυμπληρ/ 284 5 cυγχωρη 287 γι/, προκειμ, φερομ, πλει/ 288 ἰεἰνδ/

col. ii

15 'From . . . from the same holding sol. 1 1/24 1/48
From . . . through Isaac from the same holding sol. 1 1/24 1/48
From the heirs of Theon from the same holding sol. 2 1/2 1/24 1/48
From Didymus son of Isaac from the same holding sol. 3/4 1/48
From Aion son of Pecysius and John son of Germanus from the same sol. . . .
20 From the same Aion son of Pecysius from the same sol. 2 1/2 1/48
From Pecysius and Heracleides from the same sol. 1 1/2 1/24 1/48
From Pulis through John from the same sol. 2 1/4 1/48
From Paul son of Phoebammon called Psaleptebe sol. 3 1/2
From the heirs of . . . from the same sol. . . . 1/24 1/48
25 From Heracleides from the same sol. . . . 1/2 1/48
From the heirs of Leonides from the same sol. 1 1/2 1/24 1/48
From the heirs of Theodorus and partners from the same sol. 3 1/2 1/8 1/48 1/96
From the same heirs of Theon (?) from the same holding sol. 5 1/4
From Phoebammon, priest, from the same sol. 2
30 From the community of persons from the holding for poll-tax sol. 1
From the same tenant farmers for rent of a dovecote sol. 1/2
From Abraham from the same holding sol. 1/2 1/48
From Leonides and Daniel from the same holding sol. 15 1/2 1/8
From the community of tenant farmers and vine-dressers for fixed rent of lands sol. 43 1/2
35 Hamlet of Paciac
From Apollos and Cyriacus from Paciac sol. 11 1/8 1/24
From Germanus son of Aphynchius through Phoebammon son of Isaac from the same sol. 9 1/2 1/3 1/24 1/48
From Musaeus son of Apphus through Apollos from the same sol. 9 1/2 1/3 1/24 1/48
From the heirs of Peter, priest, from the same sol. 1 1/8
(vac.)
40 Total: sol. 130 1/2 1/24 1/96.'

col. iii

'From the same Musaeus from the same holding sol. 1 1/2 1/24 1/48
From the community of persons from the holding sol. 6 1/4
From Aphynchius from the same sol. 2 1/12
From the heirs of Peter, priest, through Dorotheus from the same sol. 1/2 1/48
45 From Phoebammon and Martyrius and Apphus from the same sol. 1/2 1/4 1/16 1/96
From the community of persons from the holding for rent of date-palms and poll-tax sol. 1/2
From the community of tenant farmers and vine-dressers for fixed rent of lands sol. 13 1/2
Hamlet of Cissonos
From Tuan son of Phoebammon sol. 11 1/8 1/16 1/96
50 From Pamun son of Silvanus and partners from the same holding sol. 8 1/12
From Psyrus from the same wheat art. 4; sol. 1/2 1/12
From Germanus son of Copis through Anup and partners sol. 10
From Phoebammon son of Aion from the same sol. 10
From the same Germanus from the same holding sol. 1 1/24
55 From the community of tenant farmers for poll-tax sol. 1/2 1/4 and den. myr. 1,200
Hamlet of Trigyu
From Phib son of Apa Horion through Phoebammon *phrontistes* wheat art. 153 1/2, choen. 4; sol. 26 1/8 1/8 1/48
From the heirs of Dioscorides from the same holding sol. 2 1/2
From Joseph (the second) through the same Phoebammon and partners wheat art. 105; sol. 9 1/12 1/48 1/96
60 From the community of tenant farmers for poll-tax and rent of date-palms sol. 3

From the same tenant farmers of the holding sol. 2 1/6 1/24
Hamlet of Luciu
From Surus son of Phoebammon and partners through Pagenes and Joseph and partners sol. 11
From Paul son of Heracleides and Surus son of Jacob and partners sol. 4 1/2
From Isaac son of Paul from Concon sol. 1/2 1/4
From Ammonius son of Lucius from the same holding sol. 5
(vac.)
Total: art. 262½, choen. 4; sol. 131 1/8 1/24 1/48 1/96 and den. myr. 1,200.'

col. iv

From Pamuthius son of Jacob through John son of Gerontius from the same holding wheat art. 31¼, choen. 5; sol. 6 1/8 1/12
From Peter son of Anuthius through Apollos and partners from the same wheat art. 31¼, choen. 5; sol. 11 3/8 1/24 1/48 1/96
From Phoebammon son of Hatres and Hatres from the same holding wheat art. 31¼, choen. 5; sol. 16 1/6 1/24
From Surus son of Victor and Apollos son of Aion wheat art. 31¼, choen. 5; sol. 8 1/3 1/8 1/48 1/96
From Abraham son(?) of Joseph grandson(?) of Paues and Joseph his brother sol. 2 1/2 1/8 1/48 1/96
From Apollos son of Jacob through Anuthius his son sol. 1 1/2
From John son of Paul through Apollos son of Germanus and Phileas sol. 1 1/2 1/12
From Pecysius son of Paul, vine-dresser, through John son of Isaac sol. 2 1/4 1/48 1/96
From Phoebammon son of Pamuthius through Apollos son(?) of Uerete sol. 2 1/24
From the same Pecysius and partners for rent of an oil factory sol. 2 1/2
From John son of Victor sol. 1/3 1/48
From Abraham son of Heracleides through Isaac his son and Anuthius son (?) of John grandson(?) of . . . re sol. 4 1/12 1/48
From Aciar son of Anuthius from the same holding sol. 1 1/3 1/12 1/48
From Phoebammon son of Isaac through Pamuthius son of Horsentius, deacon sol. 1/2 1/4
From Isaac son(?) of Aion grandson(?) of Chöus through Anup his son and Apphuas sol. 1/3 1/24 1/48
From Peter son of Anuthius from the same sol. 1/6 1/48
From Joseph son of Peter and Anuthius son of Theodorus and Abraham from Apele sol. 2 3/8
From Ammonius son of Papnuthius from Pecty sol. 2
From Peter son of Herminus from Pecty sol. 1 1/2
From John son of Victor and Aciar son of Anuthius and Pecysius son of Paul and partners sol. 8
From Apollos son of Germanus and John son of Paul sol. 5 1/3
From Phoebammon son of Jacob, deacon, and Abraham sol. 7 1/2
From Isaac son(?) of Aion grandson(?) of Chöus and Phoebammon son of Jacob sol. 3 1/3 1/24
From Musaeus son of Tsenesius and Ptollion from Apele sol. 8 1/4
From Isaac son of Melas from the same for his own land wheat art. 3; (vac.)
From the community of persons from Luciu for poll-tax and rent of sheep sol. 6 1/8
(vac.)
Total: art. 128½; sol. 108 1/8 1/24 1/48

col. v

'From Germanus son of Phoebammon through Heracleides son of John sol. 1/2 1/4
From the community of tenant farmers for supplementary rents for the vintage sol. 1/8 1/12 den. myr. 400
From Isaac and John and partners sol. 6 1/8 1/24 1/48 1/96
From Gerontius and Ptolemaeus through John from Sophrosynes sol. 2

From Phoebammon through Peter the lame man, son of Archelaus, from Pecty sol. 2
From Isaac son of Abraham and Anuthius son of Surus and Isaac and Anuthius, of right of Theodulus sol. 2 1/8
From the community of tenant farmers and vinedressers for fixed rent on lands sol. 9
Hamlet of Tarusebt of right of Diogenes
From Alecas and Pamuthius, priest, through Pisraël and partners wheat art. 158 1/4 choen. 6; sol. 4 1/2
From the same persons and aforesaid tenant farmers for supplementary rents for the vintage sol. 5 1/12
From Heras and Phoebammon through John and Menas sol. 3 1/8 1/48 1/96
From Paul son of Peter and a second Paul sol. 1/2 1/8
From the heirs of A . . . tius, priest, through Anuthius, priest sol. 1 1/8 1/48
From Anuthius son of Heracleides through Anuthius son of Surus sol. 1/2 1/8
From Peter and Phoebammon through Pisraël sol. 1/2 1/8
From John and the heirs of Alecas through John son of Pamun sol. 1/2 1/8
From Paësius through Hatres and Apollos sol. 2 1/3 1/24
From Phoebammon son of Peter and Pecysius sol. 1/4
From the community of tenant farmers through Pecysius and Anup sol. 3 1/3 1/24
From the heirs of Phileas from Luciu through John and Hatres sol. 2 1/4
From Jacob and Pamun from the same sol. 2 1/4
From the same Jacob son of Pamuthius through Musaeus from Apele sol. 2 1/4
From Germanus and Horus and partners sol. 2
From Paul and a second Paul through the community of tenant farmers sol. 5
From the community of tenant farmers through Horus and partners sol. 6
From the community of tenant farmers through Pecysius and Hatres and partners for ground of Pheltanbel sol. 3 1/2 1/4
(vac.)
Total: art. 158 1/4, choen. 6; sol. 72 and den. myr. 400.'

col. vi

'From Phoebammon and Peter from the same sol. 1 1/2
From Praüs from Luciu sol. 1/2
From Serenus and Paulus from Tarusebt sol. 1 1/8 1/48
From the community of tenant farmers of the same holding of Tarusebt, from 12 aruras of ground of Diogenes, 6 called 'Southern', the other 6 called 'Northern' sol. 5
Hamlet of Cotyleeiu of right of the bishop's sons
From Paul and Enoch from Cotyleeiu, of right of Apollos wheat art. 87; sol. 13
From John, *phrontistes*, and partners, of right of Phoebammon wheat art. 87; sol. 13
From Apollos from the same hamlet wheat art. 65¼; sol. 9 1/2 1/4
From Ptollion through Paüni, priest wheat art. 43½; sol. 6 1/2
From Germanus, tenant farmer, for the irrigator of Megalu Gediu wheat art. 45; sol. 6
From the community of tenant farmers through Smaragdus, *notarius*, for the irrigator of Nesu wheat art. 42; sol. 10
From Phoebammon, priest, for ground of Acanthon sol. 2
From the community of tenant farmers and vinedressers for ground of the vinedressers sol. 13 1/2
From the community of tenant farmers for ground of Eros and Amatus sol. 13
From the community of tenant farmers for rent of a dovecote sol. 1/2
From Tuan from Taruthinu wheat, by cancellus, art. 26; sol. 1 1/2
And from right of Athanasius
From Joseph son of Panechoüs for right of Athanasius sol. 11
(vac.)

Total of receipts of the 14th indiction: wheat, by measure, art. 1,312 ¼, choen. 5, which by cancellus art. at 15 per cent. are, by cancellus, art. 1,509 ¼, choen. 1;
plus, by cancellus, art. 26; total wheat, by cancellus, art. 1,535 ¼, choen. 1, and in money sol. 347 ⅛ and den. myr. 2,800.'

col. vii

'Out of which were expended during the same 14th indiction through the same Theodorus, as follows:
To the holy churches of the holdings below according to the custom wheat, by cancellus, art. 26½ choen. 4; sol. 4 ½ less carats 4 ½ ¼, as follows:
Church of Apele art. 4; sol. ½ less car. ½
Church of Paciac art. 3; sol. ⅛ less car. ⅛
Church of Cissonos art. 3; sol. ⅛ less car. ⅛
Church of Cotyleeiu art. 4; sol. ⅛ less car. ⅛
Church of Tarusebt art. 4 ½ choen. 4; sol. ⅛ less car. ⅛ ⅓
Church of Trigyu art. 4; sol. ⅛ less car. ⅛
Church of Iseu Panga (vac.) sol. 1 less car. 1
Church of Luciu art. 4; sol. ⅛ less car. ⅛,
total as above.
To the heirs of Menas, sailor, from Coma, for *embole* from the crop of the 14th indiction, wheat, by cancellus, art. 192 ½, choen. 7, and for freight charges to Alexandria, on the Alexandrian standard, sol. 1 ⅛ ¼₈ ¼₉₆, which are on the private standard sol. 1 ⅛ ¼₂₄ ¼₉₆, total wheat, by cancellus, art. 192½ choen. 7; sol. 1 ⅛ ¼₂₄ ¼₉₆
To the brickmakers making bricks in the holdings below for wages for 16 myriads of baked bricks, with wages of a builder wheat, by cancellus, art. 12; sol. 4 less car. 14, as follows:
Apele myr. 4, Paciac myr. 1, Cotyleeiu myr. 4, Cissonis myr. 1½, Trigyu myr. 1½, Luciu myr. 2, Tarusebt myr. 2, total as above.
To the *pronoëtes* on account of salary according to the custom, wheat, by cancellus, art. 24; sol. 2 less car. 5
To the taskmaster of the hamlets of Apele and Cissonos, sol. 1 less car. 3 ⅛,
and to the taskmaster of Luciu, sol. 1 less car. 3 ⅛,
and to the taskmaster of Netnëu and Cotyleeiu, sol. 1 ⅛ less car. 5 ½ ¼,
and to the taskmaster of the hamlets of Trigyu and Tarusebt and Anta and Nesu Leucadiu sol. 1 ½ less car. 4 ½ ¼,
total sol. 5 less car. 17 ½
Conceded to the persons from Trigyu according to the custom wheat, by cancellus, art. 10; sol. ⅛ ⅛
Conceded to the persons from Trigyu for rent of date-palms and poll-tax according to the custom sol. 3
Conceded to the persons from Trigyu for rent of the field of Phanchoch according to the custom sol. 1
Conceded to Isaac son of Sirius from Apele according to the custom sol. 1
Conceded to the persons from Apele for sanded land and the pond on the ground of Neloc for ar. 5 ¼ ⅛, at sol. ½ ¼ for 1 ar., sol 4 ¼ ¼₉₆: total: sol. 4 ¼ ¼₉₆
(Right hand margin)
It is necessary to inquire after sol. 8 ¼₂₄ ¼₄₈ in respect of the 13th and 14th indictions and not to remit anything to them.
To the tenant farmers of the holding of Cotyleeiu for vineland under grass, out of ar. 13, ar. 12½ at sol. ⅝ for 1 ar. sol. 8 ⅛
To the martyrium of St Serenus according to a grant of Apollos son of the bishop in the holding

of Taruthinu, in right of the holding of Cotyleeiu according to the custom, wheat by cancellus art. 26, sol. 1 ⅓, and according to a grant of Phoebammon son of the bishop in the holding of Cotyleeiu from the ground of Eros and Amatus and of the
vinedressers sol. 2: total: wheat, by cancellus, art. 26; sol. 3 ½
(vac.)
Total: art. 291 ¼, choen. 1, and sol. 38 ¼₁₂ ¼₄₈ ¼₉₆ less car. 41 ¼.'

col. viii

'Conceded to the tenant farmers of the irrigator of the new cistern in the hamlet of Cotyleeiu sown previously
on behalf of Smaragdus, *notarius*, but now through Paul son of Cueiechus in accordance with an authority granted to him, out of
wheat, by measure, art. 42 and sol. 10, from which (are deducted) for diminution of ground and for land carried away by the river as a result of the breach of a dyke sol. 3 ⅛,
the remaining art. 42 and sol. 6 ½ ⅛, from which are deducted likewise because this is rushy and reedy
in a ratio of one third to Nile-watered land wheat, by measure, art. 14, which are by cancellus, after the addition of 15 per cent., art. 16, choen. 4, and sol. 2 ¼.
Total of the reduction wheat, by cancellus, art. 16, choen. 4, sol. 5 ⅛ ¼₁₂.
Total: wheat, by cancellus, art. 16, choen. 4; sol. 5 ⅛ ¼₁₂
To the persons from Tarusebt for arrears on ar. 2 of land under grass according to the custom sol. 1 ⅛
To the tenant farmers of the holding of Cotyleeiu for the 5 aruras planted with vines on the west of the holding of
Cotyleeiu in the 8th indiction, for crops of the 9th, also for the 14th indiction wheat, by measure, art. 14 ½ and sol. 1 ⅛, which are:
wheat, by cancellus, art. 16 ½, choen. 7; sol. 1 ⅛
Conceded to the tenant farmers of the holding of Luciu in respect of land carried away by the river—
by the waters from the breach of a dyke on the south of the holding of Luciu
wheat art. 7 ½, choen. 2 and sol. 1 ½ ¼₁₂ ¼₄₈ ¼₉₆, which are, by cancellus, art. 8 ⅛, choen. 7
Total: wheat, by cancellus, art. 8 ⅛, choen. 7; sol. 1 ½ ¼₁₂ ¼₄₈ ¼₉₆
To the tenant farmers from the holding of Cotyleeiu named here below in respect of their land scoured away wheat art. 37, which are, by cancellus, art. 42 ½, choen. 2; sol. 3 ½ ⅛ ¼₂₄ as follows:
To Peter and Isaiah and Job art. 12, sol. . . .; to Isaiah and Phileas and partners art. 12, sol. . . .
To Joseph and Phib and partners art. 9, sol. . . . ¼₂₄ ¼₄₈; to Peter, tenant farmer of the irrigator of the Estate(?), art. 4, sol. . . . Total as aforesaid.
To the monastery of Abba Andrew according to the custom in respect of sol. 50 less car. 200 also for the 14th indiction wheat, by cancellus, art. 1,000, and
on the day of the great man art. 12. Total: wheat, by cancellus, art. 1012.
To the monastery of Abba Andrew likewise, as the result of a letter, by order of the patrician Strategius, of well-sanctified memory, from the fifth indiction, also for the 14th indiction, according to the custom, wheat, by cancellus, art. 100.
Conceded to John and Heraclius from the holding of Luciu in respect of their land in right of
the irrigator of Nauate belohging to the same holding of Luciu destroyed through the breach of the dykes,
for the 13th indiction in respect of 3 aruras, sol. 2 ¼, and for the 14th indiction, sol. 2 ¼. Total: sol. 4 ½

Conceded to Noah and Peter from Cotyleeiu, vinedressers of the same holding of Cotyleeiu, in respect of their land
destroyed and scoured away through the waters of the breach of a dyke, for 4 aruras sol. 2
Conceded to Phileas, tenant farmer, and partners from Cotyleeiu in respect of ground of Athanasius sol. 1 ½.
(vac.)
Total: art. 1,196 and sol. 17 ½ ½ ⅓ 1/48 1/96, (plus) another sol. 3 ½ ½ 1/12. Total: sol. 21 ⅝ 1/24 1/96.'

col. ix

Conceded to Abraham from Luciu in respect of his destroyed land sol. 1 ½ 1/12 1/48 1/96
(vac.)
And in *auturgia* of right of the holding of Tarusebt, as follows:
Ground of Papar in the name of Phoebammon son of Peter through Pecysius son of Psaeias ar. ½ ¼ 1/32 sol. ¼
Ground of Schorda cultivated through the persons from the hamlet of Luciu of right of Tarusebt ar. . . . sol. ½
Ground of Pheltanbel cultivated on behalf of Phileas son of Psacias from Luciu of right of Tarusebt from ar. 7 ½, ar. 4 ½ sol. 3 ½ ½
Ground of Concon cultivated previously on behalf of Colluthus in the name of Peter son of Phoebammon
from Tarusebt from ar. 7 ½, ar. 3 sol. 1 ½
Ground of Ptychon in the names of Serenus and Paul from Tarusebt ar. 1 ½ sol. 1 ⅛ 1/48
Ground (called?) Northern of right of Diogenes in the names of Paul and a second Paul ar. 6 sol. 5 Total: sol. 12 ⅛ 1/48
And in *auturgia* of right of the holding of Luciu, as follows:
In the names of Anuthius son of Aciar and Pecysius son of Paul, ground of Sarapodorus, from ar. 12, ar. 6 sol. 4
In the names of Isaac son of Ammonius and partners and of the right of the irrigators of ground of Scuthes ar. 9 ½ sol. 6 ½ ⅛ 1/12 1/48
In the names of Surus son of Phoebammon and partners, of the right of the Large Estate ar. 3 sol. 2 ¼
In the name of Hatres son of Phoebammon, ground of Pagenes ar. 2 sol. 1 ⅛
In the name of Pecysius son of Paul, ground of Came ar. 2 sol. 1 ⅛
And in respect of the right of the irrigators of ground of Thatres to the south of the holding of Cotyleeiu ar. 2 ⅛ sol. 1 ⅛ 1/24
In the name of Jacob son of Ammonius, ground of the martyrium of Acacius ar. 1 ½ ¼ sol. 1 1/12 1/96
In the name of Phoebammon son of Jacob through Horsentius, deacon, and partners, ground of Crescentius ar. 3 ½ sol. 2 ½ ⅛ 1/48
Total: ar. 30 sol. 21 ⅝ ⅛ 1/96
To the rivermen who dug out a new cistern in the holding of Paciac in the irrigator called 'of the Holding' in the charge of Jacob
and of the community of tenant farmers during the 14th indiction, for the water supply and crops of the 15th, on account of wages sol. 1 less car. 4 ½, and on account of expenditure
wheat, by cancellus, art. 1, and in respect of the price of salt fish and oil and mutton, in money, den. myr. 600, and to the builder and carpenter
and overseer on account of expenses wheat, by cancellus, art. 4, and, in money, den. myr. 1,200, and in respect of the price of stones bought for building
the same cistern sol. 2 less car. 9, the wheat being carried (forward) to the account of the 15th indiction, the gold having been entered into this account sol. 3 less car. 13 ½ and den. myr. 1,200

In respect of the price of 1,100 old wine jars bought and delivered to the vinedressers of Cotyleeiu and Tarusebt for containing
wine of the produce of the 14th indiction, on Mesore 20 of the indiction sol. 1 less car. 4 ½
(vac.)
Total: sol. 39 ½ 1/24 1/48 less car. 18 and den. myr. 1,200.'

col. x

'To Apanacius riverman working on the vault of the cistern of the irrigator (called) Riverside of the holding of
Trigyu South on account of wages to date on Pachon 13 of the 14th indiction sol. 1 less car. 4 ½
To Apollos riverman and his companions who embanked(?) the one arura of vines destroyed by the waters
in the hamlet of Tarusebt in the 14th indiction for the wine production of the 15th on account of wages in three assignments, for Phamenoth and Pharmuthi and Epeiph sol. 4 less car. 18
For the price of 1 beast bought by Theodorus *pronoëtes* of Apele for use in the riding stable sol. 4 ½ less car. 20 ¼
For the price of ar. . . . of green fodder bought from Apollos son of Losis from Paciac for feeding the beasts of the riding
stable in the 14th indiction for the green fodder consumption of the 15th, on Phamenoth 4 of the 14th indiction sol. 1 less car. 4 ½
For 132 pounds of nails bought for use in the repair of the landlord's tender sol. 4 less car. 18; likewise for the price of another 132 pounds
of nails bought on the 25th of the month of Payni sol. 4 less car. 18, and for the price of oil bought for use on the same
tender sol. 2 less car. 9; and to John, *notarius* and overseer of the work on the same tender on account of expenses for the 64 days
from the 28th of the month of Pharmuthi till Epeiph 1, at car. ½ daily, car. 32 . . . sol. 1 ⅓ less car. 6 Total: sol. 11 ⅓ less car. 51
For the price of scales of cladding likewise bought for use on the landlord's tender on Epeiph 30 of the 14th indiction sol. 1 less car. 4 ½
For the price of 4 cypress timbers bought by agency of Anup, sailor, of unknown origin(?), for repair of the same tender of the landlord
on the 14th of the month of Pachon of the 14th indiction sol. 12 less car. 54
To the sawyers who sawed cypress timbers for use on the tender of the ship formerly belonging to the late Scholasticius
in addition to the sol. 1 given to them through Philoxenus *pronoëtes* of Netneü now also, through you, on the 15th of the month of Payni of the 14th indiction sol. 1 less car. 4 ½
For the price of straps(?) and ropes bought for use on the landlord's camels on Hathyr 18 of the 14th indiction sol. 2 less car. 9
To the 3 camel drivers on account of salary for the 14th indiction on Mecheir 21(?) of the 14th indiction wheat, by cancellus, art. 48; sol. 4 ½ less car. 11 ¼
For the price of papyrus rolls bought for use on the records(?) and the accounts and other (papers) of the landlord's secretary
according to the custom also for the 14th indiction on Hathyr 13 of the 14th indiction sol. 3 less car. 10 ½
To the field-guards of the hamlet of Lithines guarding the hay for the landlord's *auturgia* of the Southern Boundary
in respect of ground of the Large Field of Diogenes ar. 40, and in respect of ground of Oxidas ar. 24, total ar. 64, on account of wages
in place of hay in the 13th indiction for the crops of the 14th, in a lump sum on Choeac 10 of the 14th indiction sol. 1 ½ less car. 6 ½ ½
For the price of hayseed bought in the village of Areos through Philoxenus receiver of hay for use on

the landlord's *auturgia* of Path Tampemu and Southern Boundary in the 14th indiction for the sowing of the 15th — sol. 4 ½ less car. 16 ½

For the price of hayseed likewise bought from Cosmas and Phib from Sincaret through Onnophrius receiver of hay
for use on the landlord's *auturgia* both of Path Tampemu and Southern Boundary in addition to what was already
bought recently in the village of Areos now also on the 12th of the month of Tybi of the 14th indiction for the sowing of the 15th — sol. 3 less car. 13 ½

For the price of one discharge trough bought and fitted to the irrigator (called) 'of the Lands' of the hamlet of Tarusebt in the 14th (indiction) for the sowing of the 15th — sol. ⅙ less car. ½ ¼

(vac.)

Total: art. 48 and sol. 54 ½ less car. 229 ½.'

col. xi

'For the price of aracus art. 32(?) bought for the sowing of the landlord's aruras in Ptychon which were watered for a second time and of Apa Apollos' aruras and of the aruras . . . of the Southern Boundary
in the 13th indiction for the sowing of the 14th, not entered for the 13th — sol. 3 ⅛ 1/24 1/48 less car. 15 ½ ¼

For the transport of wheat art. 1,012 given to the monastery of Abba Andrew according to the custom — sol. 1 ½ less car. 5 ¼

To John *notarius* and overseer of the work on the landlord's tender on account of expenses likewise
for the 39 days from the 2nd of the month of Epeiph till Mesore 10 of the 14th indiction — sol. ⅜ less car. 3

For the price of scales of cladding likewise bought for use on the landlord's tender on Epeiph 30 of the 14th indiction — sol. 1 less car. 4 ½

To the carpenters caulking the tender which is being renovated on account of wages according to inspection
by Apollos shipwright of Cynopolis sol. 18, from which are deducted in respect of the sawyers as a quarter share
sol. 4 ½, and for the shipwrights sol. 4: remainder sol. 9 ½, of which there were delivered to them lately through Philoxenus *pronoetes*
of Netneü sol. 3: remainder which was due to be delivered to them in respect of the full payment of the wages of the carpenters
caulking sol. 6 ½ less car. 29 ¼ (paid) on Mesore 5 of the 14th indiction. Total: sol. 6 ½ less car. 29 ¼

For the price of millstone-cutters' stones bought from Serenus and Megas millstone-cutters for construction
of the new *calathus* of the mill of the landlord's oil factory of the holding of Apele under
Samuel oil-worker and partners in the 14th indiction for crops of the 15th sol. 1 ⅛, from which was saved
from the old stones sol. ⅛: remainder sol. 1 less car. 4 ½ (paid) on Epeiph 21 of the 14th indiction. Total: sol. 1 less car. 4 ½

For the price of 2 oxen and 2 bulls and 2 heifers and 1 she-ass bought
from Heraclius son of Pabaris from Luciu for use in watering the landlord's *auturgia* (called) Outside the Gate — sol. 12 less car. 54.'

(vac.)

'Total of expenses of the 14th indiction: wheat, by cancellus, art. 1,535 ¼ choen. 1, and sol. 179 ½ ⅛ less car. 405, (the carats being converted) to sol. 16 ½ ⅛ 1/24, the total clear being sol. 163 1/12, and
from the surplus of the account of the 13th indiction sol. 4 1/12 1/96; total: sol. 167 ⅛ 1/96 and den. myr. 1,200, (the denarii being converted) to sol. ⅓; total: sol. 167 ⅓ 1/12 1/96,
Against which for receipts of the same 14th indiction wheat, by cancellus, art. 1,535 ¼ choen. 1, and in money sol. 647 ⅛ and den. myr. 2,800, (the denarii being converted) to sol. ½ 1/24 1/48; total: sol. 647 ⅛ 1/48.

Wheat is balanced, and the remainder in money is sol. 480 ½ 1/96.'

(vac.)

'Total (i.e. of col. xi): sol. 26 1/24 1/48 less car. 116 ¼.'

col. xii

'Of which payments were made to the most glorious Anastasius, cashier, in different instalments, as follows:
On Tybi 25 of the 14th indiction with *rhope* sol. 200 less car. 1,012; on Pharmuthi 25 of the 14th indiction with *rhope* sol. 200 less car. 1,200
Total paid to the most glorious Anastasius, cashier, in accordance with assignments which are in the possession of the *pronoetes*:
sol. 400 less car. 2,212, (the carats being converted) to sol. 92 ⅙, the total clear being 307 ½ ⅓, remainder sol. 172 ⅔ 1/96.

Of which were paid to the same Anastasius, cashier, on the 30th of the month of Mesore of the 14th indiction with *rhope* sol. 230 less car. 1,375 ½ ¼, (the carats being converted) to sol. 57 ¼ 1/24 1/48 1/96, the total clear being sol. 172 ⅔ 1/96.

The account is balanced.'

'There were booked to Apollos and Isaiah and partners from Tarusebt after the completion of the account because of their leaving the holding and going . . .
to the Great Desert in respect of the sol. 4 conceded to them out of sol. 6 (payable) in respect of grounds(?) of Eros for the 10th indiction, (because?) these were no longer conceded for the 11th and 12th indictions, but in the 13th and subsequent indictions, sol. 8 as follows: in respect first of the 13th indiction sol. 4,
and in respect of the 14th indiction sol. 4; total: the aforesaid sol. 8, which are being carried over in respect of surplus of the accounts
of the 2 *epinemeseis* into the account of the 15th indiction.'

1–14 From the list of holdings making bricks (151–3) we can see which settlements were concerned in this roll. Only the first, Apele, is not fully represented in the first half of the roll, the part relating to receipts. It is therefore clear that col. i and the greater part of col. ii, lines 1–34, record receipts from that place. Each column of receipts has its own total and the sum total of receipts is given at the foot of col. vi, lines 141–2, so that we can calculate, see below, that nothing is likely to have preceded the surviving col. i. It appears therefore that the first five or six lines of col. i were occupied by a general heading in lines which were too short to have left any remains, which will have been on the pattern of VI **999**, the beginning of a detailed account for AD 616/17 addressed to Flavius Apion III by the *προνοητής* of an area including four named settlements and *ἄλλ(ων) ἐξωτικ(ῶν) τόπων*, see also XVI **2019** and XVIII **2204**. To judge from these, which seem to be of exactly the same type as **3804**, there will not have been a separate subheading for Apele like those for the other settlements comprised in the steward's area, cf. 35, 56, 62 etc. Similar headings to more summary versions of stewards' accounts are XIX **2243**(a) 86–8 and XVIII **2196** 1–6. There is an additional interest in **2196** because it was submitted to members of the Apion family by the same steward whose work contract for AD 583/4 has survived as I **136**, see J. Gascou, *CE* 47 (1972) 245 and n. 1, which implies that in **2196** 4 we should read *διαϰ(όνου)* in place of *διφ[ι]ϰ(ητοῦ)*, cf. LII p. xvii. This must be correct and the remains permit this interpretation, though they are too damaged to allow it to be printed without dots.

The calculation which enables us to conclude that this was the first column can be made roughly, ignoring the fractions for convenience. We can easily add up the whole numbers of solidi surviving in i 1–12 to a total of 63. The grand total of receipts, ignoring fractions again, is 647 (line 142); the totals of the complete columns ii–vi, less fractions, are 130 (line 40), 131 (line 67), 108 (line 94), 72 (line 121), and, by calculation for col. vi, which does not have an individual total expressed, 104 (lines 122–40). Together these column totals reach 545, short of the grand total of 647 by 102. Since the surviving ends of twelve lines of col. i show 63 of them, the remaining lines of col. i, probably about six, would have been enough to complete the total of 102 without postulating a yet earlier column. The average of cols. ii–vi is *c.*111.

We may add that the blank papyrus above the surviving ends of col. i shows that the nature of the

text was different there and suits the hypothesis that it contained a general heading in the same form as VI **999**.

23 *Ψαλεπτῆβε* (or *Ψυλ-*?) is not known from elsewhere. Cf. *Παπτῆβε* BGU IV 1082.3.

28 *Θέωνος*. Cf. 17, but *αὐτῶν* suggests that Theon is a mistake for Theodorus, as in 27.

30 *συντελ(είας) κεφαλ(ῆς)*. Cf. Hardy, 52, but I can find no satisfactory treatment of its nature. Greek-Latin glossaries twice equate *συντέλεια* with *tributum* (CGL iii 465.57, 481.52), so that the phrase may be a translation of *tributum capitis*. Cf. perhaps L **3584** 6–7 (*τέλεσμα ὑπὲρ . . . κεφαλῆς*) and 7 n. The main question is whether it was a true poll-tax or a property tax like the fourth century *capitatio*, cf. P. Lond. V 1793 introd. Some Western legal constitutions appear to use *tributarius* 'to denote a *colonus* for whose taxes the landlord is liable' (A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* ii 799, cf. 1329). Compare the view of J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 1–89, that large proprietors were essentially agents of the state.

31 *φόρ(ου) περιστεραιῶνος* (= *-εώνος*). Cf. Hardy, 118. The construction of a dovecote needed capital, which was invested by the landlord and brought its income in the form of rent.

34 *ἀμπελουρ(γῶν)*. On vineyards and the production of wine on the estate see Hardy, 118–22.

ἀποτάκ(του) χωρ(ίων). The nature of this 'fixed rent on lands' is unknown to me. The term *χωρίον* is highly ambiguous, see M. Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite*, 42. Here *χωρία ἀμπελικά*, 'vineyards', cf. M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 242, must be included, if not exclusively meant. See too XVI **1915** 6, where vines are mentioned again.

35 *ἐποικ(ίου) Πακιάκ*. Cf. 36, 145, 152, 213, 226. The place-name is new, though it occurred in **1911** 79, where the damaged remains were misread as *Παψ[.]ακ*.

On the nature of an epoecium, a gated enclosure with farm buildings and dwellings, see M. Lewuillon-Blume, *Actes XVe Congrès* iv (Pap. Brux. 19) 177–85, esp. 178–9, cf. P. Turner 44 (a duplicate of the text discussed there, P. Thead. 17); M. Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite*, 41–2.

40 The total cannot be checked because of damage to figures in lines 19, 24, and 25.

46 *φόρ(ου) φοινίκ(ων)*. Cf. Hardy, 116.

48 *ἐποικ(ίου) Κις[c]ὼνος*. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 85, where, however, the reading *Κισσώνου* is accepted for PSI III 165.4, originally read *Κισσῶνος*, in deference to a remark in XVI **1911** 72–5 n. In this roll the readings are clear (48, 146, 152, 155, cf. **3805** 16) and the photographs of **1911** 74, 79, 82 give no strong reason to doubt *Κισσῶνος* in those places too. Presumably an ivy thicket (*κισσών*) was a feature of the place when it got its name, cf. places called *Ἀκανθῶνος* (134 n.), named after acacia groves, and the *ἐποίκιον Κυαμῶνος* (Pruneti, op. cit., 92), named after a bean patch; cf. L. R. Palmer, *Grammar of the Post Ptolemaic Papyri*, 120–1.

56 *ἐποικ(ίου) Τριγήου*. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 208. In XIX **2243**(a) the spelling is consistently the phonetically equivalent *Τριγύου* (76, 80, 82, 83, 85). This allows the guess that the name means the place of the three *γύαι*. The meaning of *γύης* is still in doubt, but it indicates some drainage feature such as an embankment or ditch, see LI **3638** 12 n.

It should be noted that there remains some doubt whether *Τριγήου* and *Τριγύου* are the same, because **2243**(a) is the account of a stewardship comprising four localities, Trigyu, Notinu, Polemonis, and Pesta, see e.g. lines 76–8, 80. That roll covers the ninth indiction of AD 590/1. Consequently, it is not clear whether by that year Trigyu had been moved from one stewardship to another or whether there were two places with phonetically identical names. I have taken them provisionally to be the same, on the argument that three other places, Notines Paroriu, Sophrosynes, and Lithines, occur in both **2243**(a) and **3804**.

57 *φρ(οντιστοῦ)*. Cf. Hardy, 133, where it is concluded that the title was applied to inhabitants of *epoecia* with some position of authority or seniority.

62 *ἐποικ(ίου) Λουκίου*. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 98. It is probably to be distinguished from *Λευκίου*, first a *κώμη*, later perhaps a *χωρίον* (Pruneti, op. cit., 95), which was in the Western toparchy and later in the third *pagus*, since *Λουκίου* is likely to have been near Iseum Panga in the Upper toparchy, see introd. The reading *ἐ[π]οικ(ίου) Λ[ε]υκ[ί]ο(υ)* in XVIII **2197** 86 is obviously unreliable, even though *Λευκίου* is mentioned in lines 76 and 81. If *ἐ[π]οικ(ίου)* is correct, *Λ[ο]υκ[ί]ο(υ)* is more likely, but the reading is highly uncertain.

65 *Κουκόν*. Cf. 200 = **1911** 113 *ἐδάφ(ους) Κουκόν*.

66 'The same holding' probably means Luciu (63) rather than Concon (65).

67 The column total is correct.

72 *Ἀβρααμίου Ἰωσὴφ Πανῆτος*. It is not clear how we should interpret the succession of three names, cf. 82. For the translation I have taken them as son, father, and grandfather, but Joseph may be an alias, in which case it is not clear whether it is an alias of the son Abraham or of the father Paues, cf. P. Rainer Cent. 123, where *Ἀνοῦπ Παμουθίου Ἀμμωνιανοῦ* (8) reappears as *Ἀνοῦπ Ἀμμωνιανοῦ* (22).

76 The name *Οὐερῆτε* is new even if the doubtful tau is wrong.

77 *φόρ(ου) ἐλαιουργί(ου)*. Cf. Hardy, 130 1. However, *ἐλαιουργεῖον* probably refers to an oil-factory with all the fittings rather than simply to an oil-press, see 264 where the *μυλαῖον* is the machinery to produce the oil and belongs to the *ἐλαιουργεῖον*, cf. LI **3639** 10 n.

79 *...ρε*. Probably a name, producing another succession of three names, cf. 72 and n., 82, 90.

81 *Ὀρσεντίου*, cf. 212. So far this name has been found only in P. Wash. Univ. 20.3 (IV) and LII **3689** 2, 24 (AD 226), but see 212 n. I have given it a rough breathing, because it may be a theophoric name referring to Horus. The deacon is probably Pamuthius, but see 212 n.

82 Cf. 90, 72 n., 79 and n.

84 *Ἀπελῆ*. The spelling throughout this roll is consistently with one lambda. It also appears with two, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 32.

85–6 Pecty, once in the Upper toparchy and later in the first *pagus*, is known to have been close to Iseum Panga, see introd., P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 141–2. In X **1312** *Πεκτυεύτου* should be divided *Πεκτὺ εὐτοῦ* (= *αὐτοῦ*), see XLIX p. xvii.

90 Cf. 82, 72 n., 79 and n.

92 *ἰδίας γῆς*. Cf. VI **999** (descr.), XVI **1912** 87, **2037** 10, 30, 32 and introduction. Why these persons should pay the Apions in respect of their own land is not known. It is rare, of course, to find references in the Apion papers to lands other than theirs; add **1913** 4 *ἰδίων κτημάτων*. It may be relevant to mention again the view of J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 1 89, that these landowners were representatives of the state, particularly in the matter of tax collecting.

93 *φόρ(ου) προβάτων*. This seems to be new for the Apion estate, cf. Hardy 117, 119, A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt* 207. The term was first applied to the rent on flocks leased out by the state, but it is also used in connexion with flocks belonging to Antonius Philoxenus, owner of estates in the Arsinoite nome, and to his successors, *c.*A.D. 255–305, see J. Schwartz, *Rech. Pap.* 3 (1964) 49–96, esp. 52, S. L. Wallace, *Taxation* 79–81. The Apion family may have used the same system.

94 The column total is correct.

96 *ἐκτάκ(των) τρύγης*. Cf. 104. A good idea of the nature of these supplementary rents in kind, figs, dates, etc., is given by XIV **1631** 22–5. They were due on the fruit trees and other plants that were cultivated in association with the vines, see M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 253–4. In **1911** 33 *ὑπὲρ ἐκτάκ(της) τρύγης* should be corrected to *ὑπὲρ ἐκτάκ(των) τρύγης*.

98 *Ζωφροσύνης*. See P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 187. It occurs in XIX **2243**(a) 32 under the heading *ἐν τῇ Νοτίνῃ Παρορίου* (read *-ῳ*), along with *Λιθίνης*, see 241 n., *Πεκτύ*, see 85–6 n., and *Παγγύλεως*, known to have been in the first *pagus*, like Pecty, see Pruneti, op. cit., 129.

100 *δικαίου Θεοδούλου*. Similar combinations of *δικαίου* with a personal name occur also in 102, 127, 128, 129, 139, 140, 203. Hardy, 101, takes it that the persons were former owners whose property was still kept distinct inside the Apion accounts, cf. 127 n.

102 = **1911** 31, except that **1911** 31 docs not have *δικαίου Διογένους*.

ἐποικ(ίου) Ταρουσέβτ. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 199.

103 = **1911** 32.

Ἀλεκά, cf. 110. It is a new name in this form, but cf. perhaps *Ἀλέκα* (fem.?), SB I 5962 = III 6841.

καὶ Παμουθίου is confirmed by the photographs of **1911**.

104 = **1911** 33.

109 = **1911** 38.

113 = **1911** 42, from which point the text of **1911** runs continuously.

114 = **1911** 43, where *ἀπ[ὸ Λ]ογκίου* can now be restored.

118 = **1911** 47, where too *δι(ὰ)* is to be read in place of the second *καί*.

120 = **1911** 49.

Φηλταμβέλ. Cf. 199 (same reading), **1911** 49 (*Φυλταβέλ*), 109 (*Φηλαμβέλ*). The letter before *-βέλ* is doubtful in every case, but nu seems best. Upsilon is the phonetic equivalent of eta. It is not clear from the photo whether the tau is really omitted in **1911** 109.

The amount in **1911** 49 should be corrected from *γ ∟* to *γ ∟ ɗ*.

121 The column total is correct.

126 = **1911** 53–4, where there is a slightly different phrasing, *ς μὲν [κα]λουμέ(νων) ν[οτ(ίνων), τῶ]ν δὲ ς (ἀρουρῶν) καλουμέ(νων) βορ(ινῶν)*. This has been confirmed from the photographs.

127 = **1911** 55, which can now be restored as *ἐποικ(ίου) Κ[οτυ]λε[ίου δικαίου τῶν νἱῶ]ν τοῦ ἐπικόπ(ου)*. Two sons of the bishop are named in 164 and 166 (= **1911** 92, 94) as Apollos and Phoebammon, and these are evidently the same persons as those in 128–9 (*δικαίου Ἀπολλῶ, δικαίου Φοιβάμμωνος*). According to Hardy, 141–2, these are previous owners of the property, who left it burdened with the obligations to the shrine of the martyr St Serenus (164–7). The unnamed bishop need not necessarily be a former bishop of Oxyrhynchus, see the plethora of bishops in P. Landlisten, with the commentary of G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* No. 3 (for 1978) 156–7.

128–34 = **1911** 56–62, not transcribed but simply noted as '7 incomplete lines'. The photographs of **1911** show that the lines, though badly damaged, were substantially in the same terms, although there is one difference in the order of the entries: **1911** 60 = **3804** 133, **1911** 61 = **3804** 132.

129 *φρ(ουντιστοῦ)*. Cf. 57 n.

132 *Μεγάλου Γηδίου*. Cf. XVIII **2195** 37, 174 (where also capital letters are needed).

133 *Ϲμαράγδου νοταρ(ίου)*. Cf. 170 = **1911** 97. Presumably **1911** 60 has the same text, but the photographs of the damaged remains are not clear enough to confirm it.

134 *ἐδάφ(ους) Ἀκανθώνος*. There was a place of this name with a port in the Oxyrhynchite nome, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 25, but probably there is no allusion to it here. More likely to be the same is the *μηχανὴ καλουμένη Ἀκανθώνος* of I **202** (descr.). Other places with similar names are referred to in A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* I i, 41–2. M. Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite*, 54, rejects it from Hermopolite toponymy. Cf. 48 n.

135 = **1911** 63, where we can now restore *ὑπὲρ ἐδάφ(ους) τῶν ἀμπελουρ](γῶν)*. Only the oblique mark of abbreviation remains.

136 = **1911** 64, where now restore *Ἔρωτος καὶ Ἀμάτου*. The photographs suggest that there was further damage after the editors read the line.

139–40 There is no heading equivalent to 139 in **1911**, but 140 = **1911** 67.

141–2 = **1911** 68–9. For the significance of the close resemblance between the figures, here for a fourteenth indiction, there for a fifth indiction, see introduction.

No column total is given either here or at this point in **1911**, but instead we have a sum total of receipts, virtually identical in each case. One small difference is that **1911** 68 adds *ἄλλ(αι)*, having *καὶ ἄλλ(αι) κ(αγκέλλῳ) (ἀρτ.) κϛ* where 142 has simply *καὶ κ(αγκέλλῳ) κτλ*. The only other difference is also small, but puzzling, namely that in 141–2 the sums of cancellus artabas clearly have *χο(ιν.) α* in both places, where **1911** 68–9 have been reported as having *χο(ιν.) ζ* and *χο(ιν.) ζ*. The note there says that the figure is doubtful in 68 but confirmed by 69. The photographs are not clear enough to check. Since alpha is clear in both places here, it seems likely that the editors misread **1911**. This is even more strongly suggested by the fact that where the sum total should appear again in **1911** 207 *χο(ιν.) α* is the reading offered. Again the photographs of **1911** are not clear enough to check satisfactorily.

The calculations should allow us to reach a conclusion, but they do not produce an easy result:

	art. 1312	$\frac{1}{4}$					choen. 5
+10%	131		$\frac{1}{8}$		$\frac{1}{40}$		$\frac{1}{2}$
+ 5%	65	$\frac{1}{2}$		$\frac{1}{10}$		$\frac{1}{80}$	$\frac{1}{4}$
canc. art. 1508	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{40}$	$\frac{1}{80}$	choen. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$

The fractions added:

$$\frac{40+20+16+8+2+1}{80} = \frac{87}{80} = 1\ \tfrac{7}{80}$$

Total canc. art. 1509 $\frac{7}{80}$ choen. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$

From other passages, see below, we know that in this context there were the usual forty choenices to the cancellus artaba, so that canc. art. $\frac{7}{80}$ = choen. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$, the correct full total being canc. art. 1509 choen. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$. It would be understandable if this had been rounded up to art. 1509 choen. 10, i.e. canc. art. 1509 $\frac{1}{4}$, but the extra single choenix is a surprise. However, *χο(ιν.) α* is closer to the true total than *χο(ιν.) ζ*, as well as being certainly read.

The passages which show clearly that in this account the cancellus artaba had forty choenices are 173, 177, and 181, viz.

(1) In 173 art. 14+15% = canc. art. 16 choen. 4, i.e. canc. art. 14+1.4 (10%)+.7 (5%) = canc. art. 16.1; therefore art. .1 = choen. 4, and art. 1 = choen. 40.

(2) In 177 art. 14 $\frac{1}{2}$+15% = canc. art. 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ choen. 7, i.e. art. 14.5+1.45 (10%)+.725 (5%) = canc. art. 16.675; therefore canc. art. .175 = choen. 7, and canc. art. 1 = choen. 40.

(3) In 181 art. 37 = canc. art. 42 $\frac{1}{2}$ choen. 2, i.e. art. 37+3.7 (10%)+1.85 (5%) = canc. art. 42.55; therefore canc. art. .05 = choen. 2, and canc. art. 1 = choen. 40.

In 180 there is a slightly more complicated case. Art. 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ choen. 2 is converted into, by cancellus measure, art. 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ choen. 7. The calculation in decimal terms would have been art. 7.5+.75 (10%)+.375 (5%), choen. 2+.2 (10%)+.1 (5%) = canc. art. 8.625 choen. 2.3 = canc. art. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ choen. 2.3 = canc. art. 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ choen. 7 $\frac{3}{16}$. The rounding down to choen. 7 is what we might expect.

For this last calculation a superficially more satisfactory result could be achieved if we adopted one element of the theory that the choenix was a unit of fixed size from which artabas of various sizes and nomenclatures could be made up, see esp. R. P. Duncan-Jones, *Chiron* 9 (1979) 347–75. According to pp. 354–5 the 'metron artaba' had 46 choenices, the 'cancellus artaba' the usual 40 choenices. Applying this formula to the conversion of art. 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ choen. 2 into canc. art. 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ choen. 7 we produce the following calculation:

choen. 345 (7 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 46) + 2 = 347 ÷ 40 = canc. art. 8 choen. 27, i.e. canc. art. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ choen. 7.

In spite of this I remain, like J. C. Shelton, reluctant to accept the theory. I cannot follow Shelton when he says (*ZPE* 24 (1977) 59; 42 (1981) 104) that the conversion in **1911** 101–2 (= **3804** 173, see above) proves that both artabas had 40 choenices. One may reach a perfectly satisfactory calculation on the hypothesis of artabas of 46 and 40 choenices:

choen. 644 (14 × 46) ÷ 40 = canc. art. 16 choen. 4.

Nevertheless, our present problem is not helped by that hypothesis:

art. 1312 × 46 =	choen. 60352	
art. $\frac{1}{4}$ × 46 =	choen. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	
+	choen. 5	
total	choen. 60368 $\frac{1}{2}$ ÷ 40	
	= canc. art. 1509 choen. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$.	

This answer falls even further short of the given total of canc. art. 1509 $\frac{1}{4}$ choen. 1.

The glimmerings of an explanation seem to emerge from consideration of the mathematical methods of the clerks in reckoning percentages (*ἑκατοσταί*) of artabas. G. Rosenberger, *APF* 12 (1937) 70–3 shows by examples that they used normal methods for whole hundreds and 50, i.e. 1 per cent of 100 is 1, 1 per cent of 50 is $\frac{1}{2}$, but that for numbers below 50 they used $\frac{1}{88}$ as an approximation for $\frac{1}{100}$ wherever it was more convenient. This is more natural than it may seem at first sight, because $\frac{1}{88}$ is the lowest fraction of those normally used for the division of the artaba ($\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$; $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{12}$, $\frac{1}{24}$, $\frac{1}{48}$, $\frac{1}{96}$, cf. W. *Gdz.* p. lxix). They also rounded out or neglected small fractions when convenient. This means, unfortunately, that we cannot always say what exactly their procedure was, although no doubt they had conventions and habits, if not rules.

In our case, if we use $\frac{15}{88}$ instead of $\frac{15}{100}$ for the element consisting of 12 artabas, we find ourselves in the right area, although the full calculation then brings us up to a still higher total of canc. art. 1509 $\frac{1}{4}$ choen. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$, see below. I have assumed that the clerk, if he had decided to carry through his calculation in full, would have used the ordinary $\frac{1}{100}$ for the elements of art. $\frac{1}{4}$ and choen. 5, because it is more convenient than $\frac{1}{88}$:

art. 1312 $\frac{1}{4}$	=	1300	+	12	+	$\frac{1}{4}$ choen. 5
+15%	[=	$(\frac{15}{100} \times \frac{1300}{1})$	+	$(\frac{15}{88} \times \frac{12}{1})$	+	$(\frac{15}{100} \times \frac{1}{4})$ $(\frac{15}{100} \times \frac{5}{1})$]
	=	195	+	1 $\frac{7}{8}$	+	$\frac{3}{80}$ $\frac{3}{4}$
	[	1495	+	13 $\frac{7}{8}$	+	$\frac{23}{80}$ 5 $\frac{3}{4}$]
	=	1509 $\frac{13}{80}$				5 $\frac{3}{4}$

Since we know that the 'cancellus artaba' has 40 choenices, see above, we can continue:

= canc. art. 1509 choen. 6 ⅛ + choen. 5 ¾
= canc. art. 1509 ¼ choen. 2 ¼

This seems near enough to the given total to allow us to accept provisionally that the clerk may have used this basic procedure with some neglect or rounding out of small fractions. For example, being aware that he had used too large a fraction for the element of 12 artabas, he might have avoided exact calculations of percentages for art. ¼ and choen. 5, but simply taken 115 per cent as being 'somewhat over' art. ¼ and 'somewhat over' choen. 5. He might then have reached art. 1495+13 ⅜+¼(+) choen. 5(+) = art. 1509 ⅜(+) choen. 5(+) = art. 1509 ¼(+) choen. o(+) and gone on to reckon the plus values roughly at one additional choenix.

If this is somewhere near the truth, it may help to explain what is meant by the conversion of the wheat total. It is clear now, for example, that it is not the result of a new measurement of one particular quantity of grain by a different measure, cf. Shelton, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 59, if the figures in **1911** and **3804** are the same, as I argue above. Where *ἑκατοσταί* appear in the papyri they are usually connected with taxes or levies, as surcharges on grain paid to the state, for instance, cf. P. Cair. Isid. 47 introd. (p. 214), or as deductions from payments made by the state for requisitioned goods, such as military clothing, cf. R. Rémondon, *Rev. phil*[3]. 32 (1958) 244–60. In this case the grain is part of what J. Gascou has seen as a combined rent and tax, a 'rente-impôt', see *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 60 for a summary, paid to the Apion household as the agent of the state. In that sense these percentages are to be compared with the earlier percentages on grain taxes to the state. It also seems to me very possible that they are to be connected with a clause of the surviving work contract of a steward with the Apion estate, I **136** 27–9, *προσομολογῶ δὲ λημματίσαι τῇ ὑμῶν ὑπερφυείᾳ ὑπὲρ παραμυθείας τοῦ παραλημπτικοῦ μέτρου τῶν ἀρταβῶν ἑκατὸν ἀρτάβας δεκαπέντε*, 'I further agree to credit to Your Excellency's account by way of premium fifteen artabas for every hundred artabas of the measure used for receipts'. This connection was first considered in A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Econ. Studies* 60–1, but rejected for reasons which I cannot understand well enough to discuss. To me the analogy with the earlier period seems close. Then the grain taxes were expressed as a theoretical amount, but at the point of delivery the taxpayer had to pay surcharges. So on the Apion estate the schedule (*ἀπαιτήσιμον* I **136** 17), according to which the steward made his collection from the tenant farmers and which must have been similar in all essentials to the receipts section of this roll, had one amount, but the steward exacted a higher amount and delivered an extra fifteen per cent to the estate account. If this is right, the artaba remains the same throughout, while *μέτρῳ* and *καγκέλλῳ* are accounting terms only, the former implying 'exclusive of surcharges', the latter 'inclusive of surcharges'. This interpretation also offers the possibility of explaining the different proportions which seem to be attested between the 'metron artaba' and the 'cancellus artaba' (*Chiron* 9 (1979) 355) as reflecting different rates of surcharge, as in the earlier period, cf. P. Cair. Isid. p. 214.

However, this is advanced as an explanation valid for this sort of context only. It is clear from the latest reference to a cancellus measure and from the earliest that the name was based upon physical facts. The latest reference is in an early eighth century Arab governor's order to a local official in which it is laid down that the collectors of grain taxes are not to use the (*μέτρον*) *δημόσιον*—the German translation uses the Greek word—but the 'Qanqalmass', and that the official should have a 'Normal-Qanqalmass', a regulation cancellus measure, by which to check the grain delivered by the collectors, see P. Heid. III (Veröffentlichungen aus d. Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung III: Papyri Schott-Reinhardt I ed. C. H. Becker 1906) No. III 40–8 (p. 73). The German spelling 'Qanqalmass' depends on the theory put forward in P. Heid. III pp. 31–2 that the term is of Persian origin, which still receives lip service (*Chiron* 9 (1979) 354) in spite of the fact that the first undoubted occurrence is of AD 44, a date remote from any likely Persian influence, see XII **1447** 4. Grenfell and Hunt in their note there convincingly suggested a similar interpretation of a document of AD 15, P. Lond. II 256a (p. 99; Facsimiles ii 9) = W. *Chr.* 443 = S. Daris, *Documenti per la storia dell'esercito* No. 67. This is a receipt for a cargo of wheat to be shipped from the Arsinoite nome to Alexandria. Kenyon's reading of a term applied to the measure, correct in my opinion, was (*μέτρῳ*) *κανκερλοτῳ*. Wilcken eventually (1912: *Chr.* 443) printed *χαλκειλοτῳ*, attributing the interpretation of it as *χαλκηλάτῳ*, 'of beaten bronze', to Grenfell and Hunt. Their later (1916) note to **1447** 4 avoided giving a reading, but suggested that the word was *καγκέλλῳ* and that the following two letters, *τω*, should be bracketed as being superfluous. My variant of this would be to interpret *κανκερλοτῳ* as a phonetic spelling of *καγκελλωτῷ*. For the various phonetic factors see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 168 (unassimilated nasal), 102–7 (interchange of liquids), 276 7 (omicron for omega). This adjective has appeared once in the papyri, P. Ryl. II 233.3–5 *ἡ διαβάθρα καγγελλωτὴ καὶ τὰ προσκήνια γενήσεται ἅμα ⟦καὶ⟧ τῶι καγγέλλωι τοῦ μεικροῦ συμποσίου*. The meaning is by no means perfectly clear, cf. G. Husson, *OIKIA* 313, but we might imagine rails or balustrades or lattices. In P. Lond. II 256a it would mean 'fitted with a grid', see below. The passage runs:

πυροῦ πρώτου Συρι-
ακοῦ] καθαλοῦ (= καθαροῦ) ἀδόλου ἀκρίθου κεκοσκ[ι]νευμένου μέ-
τρῳ δ]ημοσίῳ κανκερλοτῷ (= καγκελλωτῷ) τῷ ἀνενηνεγμένῳ ὑπ[ὲ-
μοῦ ἀ]πὸ Ἀλεξανδρέας {πρώτου Συριακοῦ} ἀρτάβα[ς κτλ.

'. . . (so many) artabas of first quality(?) Syrian wheat, pure, unadulterated, free from barley, sieved, by the public measure fitted with a grid which has been brought up by me(?) from Alexandria'.

Whatever doubt or dispute there may be about the details it is fairly clear that a cancellus measure was in use by AD 15 and was an officially designated measure. Note that it was *δημόσιον*, whereas 'public' and 'cancellus' are contrasted in the Arabic text of the eighth century AD.

It remains to suggest that the Latin name of the measure is descriptive of extant Roman grain measures with internal fittings, see F. Haverfield, *Archaeologia Aeliana*[3] 13 (1916) 84–102, esp. 91 figs. 4–5, 96 fig. 9, 102 fig. 12. These bronze measures, of which there are three clear examples of different sizes, are either cylinders or truncated cones open at the narrower end. From the centre of the circular base rises a perpendicular rod or pillar. Attached to the top of the rod and to three equidistant points on the circular rim is a horizontal bronze frame of three arms radiating from the centre to the rim. The top of the container, therefore, is a grid resembling a wheel with three spokes. It is suggested that the grid helped to define a consistent level measure and to prevent the grain being packed down unfairly, while the vertical rod helped to maintain the correct relationship between the top and the bottom of the measure, cf. F. G. Skinner, *Weights and Measures* 69–72.

A similar gridded mouth is found on an earthenware grain measure from the Athenian Agora, see O. Broneer, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 222–4, esp. 222 fig. 57, cf. Skinner, op. cit. 61. This measure lacks the vertical bar, presumably because earthenware cannot be distorted like bronze. It dates from the fifth century BC, before *c.*425 BC, see Broneer, op. cit. 212, 224. The grid, therefore, is not a Roman device, a fact which may tell against the identification suggested here. I would argue that it may have been introduced to Egypt by Roman officials. I know of nothing similar from Egypt at any period. I suggest that it was encountered particularly (not exclusively, cf. e.g. P. Sorb. I 60.14, I **133** 17) in official contexts in connection with grain taxes and levies which attracted surcharges, and that in that way its name came to be used as an accounting term meaning 'inclusive of surcharges'.

143 = **1911** 70. Unfortunately the photographs of **1911** col. iv are too faint to check the damaged remains satisfactorily, but it probably had some version of *ἀνηλώθη* where *ἀναλ(ωμάτων)* was read.

Θεοδώρου. Since **3804** is later, probably nine years later, than **1911**, the name need not have been the same there, but it may have been. He was the *pronoetes* of this area of the Apion estate, as we can see by comparison with VI **999** and XVI **2019**, which contain the headings of accounts similar to this one and are addressed to members of the Apion family by *pronoetae*, and this is confirmed by 225 *Θεοδώρου πρ(ονοητοῦ) Ἀπελῆ*. Apele stood first in this account, see 1–14 n. There are several references to persons with the title of *pronoetes* and the same name in the indexes to P. Oxy. XVI p. 290 (add **1916** 33), but there is no indication that any of them is the same as this one.

144 = **1911** 71. Instead of '*καὶ ἀπρδε* 25–30 letters', we should presumably read '*κατὰ τὸ ἔθος* (vac.)', see **1911** 71 n., cf. below 154 n. The photographs are faint. At the end of the line there the papyrus is broken fairly close to *νο(μ.)* δ. There may be slight remains of the beginning of what should have followed, namely *d π(αρὰ κεράτια) δ ∟ οὕτως*.

145–8 = **1911** 72–5, but the order of the items is quite different, and it is clear that two of the names, with all the letters dotted, are wrongly read, while a third was left unread. In addition, the account here is correct, while the figures in **1911** are not satisfactory. Unfortunately the photographs again provide no help. Since these are customary annual donations, we may assume that **1911** had the same items and figures in a different order. For *Ταρουθίῳ* (72), *Ἀυτῷ* (73), and *.]....ρῳ* (74), we must substitute *Ἰσίου Παγγᾶ*, *Πακιάκ*, and *Λουκίου*.

The expenses section of all known accounts of this kind begins with customary donations to churches, see Hardy, 140 and n. 9; add XVIII **2195** 84–8, XIX **2243**(a) 75–8.

148 All the churches except that of Iseum Panga were attached to places concerned in this account. Probably it was the chief church of the area, see introduction. We may compare the payments to the church of St Michael the Archangel in three similar accounts concerned with different areas, XVI **1912** 119, XVIII **2195** 88, XIX **2243**(a) 77. That church was probably the one with the same dedication in Oxyrhynchus, see XVIII **2195** 84 n., referring to XI **1357** 8.

149–50 At the corresponding point, **1911** 76–7, we find the note '2 much effaced lines beginning *Κυριακῷ*'. Hardy, 53 n. 1, has pointed out that this is the boatman mentioned in XVI **1913** 61, so that **1911** 76–7 will have contained an entry of the same type as **1912** 120, **1913** 61–2, and 149–50 here.

149 *τοῖς κληρ(ονόμοις) Μηνᾶ ναύτου ἀπὸ Κόμα.* Cf. Hardy, 78–9. Hardy plausibly links Asclas *ναύτης* from Coma (I **142** 1, 11, 13; AD 534), Menas son of Asclas *ναύτης* (XVI **1916** 39; sixth cent.), Menas *ναύκληρος ἀπὸ Κώμα* (= *Κόμα*; XVI **1998** 2, 5, 8; sixth cent.), and heirs of Menas son of Asclas *ναύκληρος* (I **133** 15–16; AD 550; *Ὀσκλᾶτος* ed. pr.). See also J. Gascou, *CE* 47 (1972) 244 n. 2, who adds references to Asclas in VII **1071**, XVI **1929**, **2032** 72.

The place is probably the well-attested Heracleopolite village, see A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* III ii, 137, cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 88. There seems to be no good reason to think that there was a place of the same name in the Oxyrhynchite nome. Coma is mentioned frequently along with Heracleopolis in the Apion wine account XXVII **2480**.

150 *ναύλ(ου) Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας).* Cf. A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt*, 159.

On the conversion from the Alexandrian standard to the private standard see L. C. West, A. C. Johnson, *Currency*, 140–56, esp. 144. The complications are still to be satisfactorily explained, cf. **3805** 7–8 n.

151–3 = **1911** 78–80. The order is the same and the figures which are read without dots in **1911** are also the same, so that it is likely that the numbers of bricks and the payment for them were fixed over the period of the two accounts. Again the photographs do not allow me to correct the readings for certain, but it seems obvious that we should read a version of *πλινθευταῖς πλινθεύουσιν* (cf. XVIII **2195** 91; or *πλινθεύσασιν*, cf. below 213 *ποταμ(ίταις) ἀνορύξασι*, 235 *πρίσταις πρίσασι*) in 78, *Πακιάκ* for *Παν[.]ακ*, and *Κισσῶνος* for *Κισσώνου* in 79.

On brickmaking by estates see Hardy, 122–3; add XVIII **2195** 91–4, 190–1, **2206** 8, 10, and especially **2197** 1–222; also XIX **2243**(a) 79.

151 *οἰκοδόμ(ου).* Cf. 215 *τῷ οἰκοδόμ(ῳ).* Read *οἰκοδόμ(ου)* also, instead of *οἰκοδομ(ῆς)* or *οἰκοδόμ(ων)*, in XVIII **2195** 92, 191, XIX **2243**(a) 79.

154 = **1911** 81. No doubt '*καὶ ἀπο* and some letters much effaced' will represent *κατὰ τὸ ἔθος κτλ.* as here, see **1911** 81 n., cf. above 144 n.

This *ὀψώνιον* of 24 art. wheat and 2 sol. less 5 carats (cf. XVI **1910** 7, **1912** 130, XIX **2243**(a) 81) compares strangely with a steward's contract with the Apion estate, I **136** (AD 583). For a year's contract he pays the estate 12 solidi, as well as wheat at the rate of 15 per cent of what he manages to collect (27–31), and receives the customary *ὀψώνιον* (*καὶ δέξασθαί με τὸ ἐμὸν ὀψώνιον κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ πρὸ ἐμοῦ προνοητοῦ*, 31–2). Nothing more is specified. The disparity is large. Probably the real emoluments of the office were the perquisites which the steward could extract from the tenant-farmers, cf. XIX **2239** 18–20, where customary payments from tenants are mentioned in the contract of an *ἐπικείμενος*. See also J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 17–18 and n. 93.

155–6 = **1911** 82–4. Since the accounting here is correct, no doubt the figures in **1911** should be corrected to agree. The same total probably stood there. The only credible difference is the reversal of the names of Trigyu and Tarusebt in **1911** 84.

It is interesting that the areas subject to the *ergodioctae* were not necessarily limited to one settlement and that they even crossed the boundaries of the area subject to our *pronoetes*, as appears from the fact that Netnëu, Anta, and Nesu Leucadiu do not have sections in this account. Obviously these places were not far away. For Netnëu see 236 n.

157–62 = **1911** 85–90. There are various small differences, such as the reversal of grain and money payments in 85 and the addition of *αὐτ(οῖς)* in 86–7. The photographs are too faint to check thoroughly, but we must presume that the figures were the same. In addition we must accept *Ϲιρίου* for *Ἀρίου* in 88. However, the photographs do show that **1911** 89 has *Νεκόλ* where 161 has *Νελόκ*. One must be a clerical error. No reference to either has been located elsewhere.

158 = **1911** 86. This concession is for the full amount of the assessment, see 60 above.

159 *ὑπὲρ φόρ(ου) γηδίου Φανχόχ.* In **1911** 87 we seem to have something slightly different, *ὑ. φ. ϛιτι[κ]οῦ ἐδάφ(ους) Φ.* The *ἔδαφος Φανχόχ* of XIX **2244** 82, 84 is associated with Tampeti in the Middle toparchy and is presumably not connected; cf. 197 n.

161 It is not clear to me exactly what *λίμνη* means here. Possibly it was a reservoir needed to irrigate the land which had been spoiled by an accumulation of sand, cf. P. Coll. Youtie II 68.17–22.

162 The marginal entry is in a paler ink and on a smaller scale while the hand is probably the same. It seems that this concession was now to be withdrawn, but the instruction does not affect the total in 168.

163 = **1911** 91. For *αἱ* there read **d**. The total, *νο(μ.) η ϛ′*, probably stood in **1911**, but it is either faded or broken away.

164–7 = **1911** 92–5. Again the photographs of **1911** are too dim to check thoroughly. It seems safe to assume that its figures were the same as are now clear here, and that *ἐκ Τοὲ δ(ιὰ)* in 94 is misread for *ἐκ τοῦ ἐδ(άφους)*.

Hardy, 141–2, took it that the shrine of the martyr St Serenus was in Taruthinu, but now that we have a clear text in which *ἐν . . . Ταρουθίνου* is paralleled by *ἐν . . . Κοτυλεείου* it seems that the grain and money were to come from the revenues of these two holdings. There was a church or shrine of St Serenus in Oxyrhynchus, see XI **1357** 4 and n., which is perhaps the one meant here.

165 *δικαίου . . . Κοτυλεείου.* I guess that the lands of Taruthinu and Cotyleeiu adjoined and that an area once belonging to the latter had been transferred to the former, retaining the obligations with which it was encumbered, cf. Hardy, 141–2.

168 The total of wheat is correct. The money total is less than what it should be according to my calculation by sol. $\frac{1}{96}$. The calculation is as follows:

(144)	sol. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	less car.	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$
(150)	1 $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{24}$ $\frac{1}{96}$		
(151)	4		14
(154)	2		5
(156)	5		17 $\frac{1}{2}$
(157)	$\frac{3}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$		
(158)	3		
(159)	1		
(160)	1		
(161)	4 $\frac{1}{48}$ $\frac{1}{96}$		
(163)	8 $\frac{1}{8}$		
(167)	3 $\frac{1}{2}$		

The deducted carats total 41 $\frac{1}{4}$, as specified. Solidi in whole numbers total 36. The fractions can be calculated as follows:

$$\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{24} + \frac{1}{96} + \frac{3}{8} + \frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{48} + \frac{1}{96} + \frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{2}$$

$$= \frac{24 + 32 + 4 + 1 + 64 + 12 + 2 + 1 + 16 + 48}{96} = \frac{204}{96}$$

$$= \text{sol. } 2\tfrac{12}{96}\ (= \tfrac{1}{8})$$

This added to sol. 36 makes the calculated total sol. 38 $\frac{1}{8}$ ($= \frac{12}{96}$). The specified total is 38 $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{48}$ $\frac{1}{96}$, i.e. 38 $\frac{11}{96}$, less than the calculated total by $\frac{1}{96}$.

In **1911** 99 the total, after the same number of entries, most of them very similar, is wheat art. 173 choen. 4, sol. 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$, less car. 41 $\frac{1}{4}$, compared with our wheat art. 291 $\frac{1}{4}$ choen. 1, sol. 38 $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{48}$ $\frac{1}{96}$ less car. 41 $\frac{1}{4}$. The wheat total in **1911** is therefore in round numbers art. 118 less than that here. It seems likely that this is entirely due to a difference in the largest wheat subtotal, which is lost in **1911** 76–7 and stands here in 150 at art. 192$\frac{1}{3}$ choen. 7; there it must have stood at c. art. 74. This grain was for shipment to Alexandria and was delivered to the shippers along with a sum for freight charges, which will of course also have been less in **1911** than here, so that probably the difference in the money total will also derive entirely from this entry. The money figures suit this hypothesis fairly well. The difference in wheat is c. art. 118, the difference in money (sol. 38 $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{48}$ $\frac{1}{96}$ less car. 41 $\frac{1}{4}$ minus sol. 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{96}$ less car. 41 $\frac{1}{4}$) is sol. $\frac{7}{96}$ or car. 18 $\frac{1}{2}$.

This works out at a rate of c. car. 15.67 per art. 100. The rates calculated by A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt* 159 are in the range car. 16–18 per art. 100.

The difference in the sizes of these grain shipments is surprising. They are said to be *ὑπὲρ ἐμβολῆς* (149), that is, for taxes in grain destined eventually for shipment to Constantinople, cf. A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* i 698, ii 1287 n. 23. We might have expected the contribution of any single stewardship to this important tax to have a fixed assessment and to remain roughly the same, especially when we contemplate how standardized most of the other elements of these accounts were. This case seems to indicate rather that the Apions left themselves free to make up their quota of grain tax in whatever way best suited the particular current circumstances.

169–74 = **1911** 96–8, 100–2. In **1911** this long entry is shared between cols. iv and v and is broken up by the column total in **1911** 99.

170 *π(αρά)*: so also **1911** 97, where *(ὑπέρ)* was read. Since it seems unlikely that the notary personally cultivated the ground, I have translated *π(αρά)* here as 'on behalf of' and retained this in similar contexts below, in some of which 'by' may possibly be more appropriate, see also 225 n.

νυνὶ δέ: so also **1911** 97, where *Νμμιδ( )* was read.

Κουειέχος. Cf. *Κουεινέτος* **1911** 97, *Κουεινεχοσύ* 197, *Κουενέτος* 199. The photographs of **1911** suggest that we should read *Κουεινέγος* (97), *Κουενέχος* ⟦*(ἀρτ.)*⟧ (197), and *Κουεινέχος* (199). This is presumably an indeclinable personal name and is not known from elsewhere. The variations are probably due to phonetic uncertainties, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 116–19, for omission and insertion of medial nu, 96, for interchange of gamma and chi. On Coptic *Κουι*-names see L. S. B. MacCoull, *Tyche* 2 (1987) 101.

171 *διακόπου*. Cf. P. Petaus 18.24–5 n. The text of **1911** 98–100 shows that it refers here to an accidental breach of irrigation channels: *ὑ(πὸ)—ἐκ* edd.– *τῆς διακοπ(ῆς) τῶν χωμ(άτων)*.

We expect *διάκοπος* to be masculine, though *διακοπή* means the same thing, but we have *τῆς διακόπου* clearly written in 171 and 179, and equally clearly *τῆς διακοπῆς* in 189, with *τῆς διακοπ( )* abbreviated in 192.

172 *θρυώδη{c} καὶ καλαμοκεντρίτιδος*. This is the way the text is presented in **1911** too. Both terms should be in the same case, but perhaps it should be the genitive, i.e. correct to *θρυώδους* rather than to *θρυώδη καὶ καλαμοκεντρίτιδα*. If so, these words describing the condition of the land are used as if they denoted a category of land, which would not be very surprising. It may even be that the form *θρυώδης* is intended as a genitive and that the adjective had been transferred out of the dying third declension, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 138.

175 = **1911** 103.

176–7 There is a somewhat similar entry in **1911** 104–6, but the figures are quite different. The photographs are again not clear enough to check thoroughly, but it is certain that **1911** was substantially different.

From this entry alone we might have supposed that these five aruras were planted with vines in AD 559/60, which is the nearest eighth indiction preceding the date of **3804**, and that the concession was granted because the vines were still not fully bearing in AD 565/6. In **1911** 104–6 the location is described in the same way, west of the holding of Cotylēeiu, but the area is only two aruras. The indiction is again an eighth (the dotted eta = 8 is confirmed by the following expression, 'crops of the ninth'), but this one must be before the date of **1911**, AD 556/7. The nearest preceding eighth indiction is therefore AD 544/5, and vines planted then must have been in full bearing by AD 556/7. We might guess, therefore, that the land had been assessed higher, probably as grain land, before the vines were planted and that the rent concession was made on that account. That the land was west of the settlement might suggest that the desert was encroaching and spoiling good grain land. On the other hand we note that Cotylēeiu had also lost land by flood damage (169–74, 181–3, 191). A location between the Bahr Yusuf and the Western Desert might satisfy the indications.

It is still odd that the area has grown from two aruras to five while the indiction number remains the same. It could be that the extra three aruras were indeed planted in AD 559/60, the later of the two eighth indictions considered, but even so this Greek would hardly convey that sense. More probably the trouble arose in AD 544/5 and grew worse, but the clerks did not think it worth while to indicate the stages of its progress.

178–80 = **1911** 142–4. The amounts are the same but the concession is there *ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀφανισθ(είσης) αὐτῶν γῆς ὑπὸ τῆς διακ(οπῆς) τῶν χωμ(άτων)*, which evidently means the same as the wording here. There is also a note in **1911** 144–5 that the crops of the 6th indiction are to be inspected and an authoritative

formula *(τύπος)* given for the concession. Evidently the concession was confirmed and continued up to the time of our account. It looks as if the land was permanently lost.

Note that the order of this roll begins here to diverge from that of **1911**.

181–3 This entry seems to be related to **1911** 193–205, where the concessions are made *τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐγγεγραμμ(ένοις) γεωρ(γοῖς) ἐποικ(ίου) Κοτυλεείου καὶ ἄλλ(ων) ὑπὲρ ξυσθίσης καὶ ἀφανισθ(είσης) αὐτῶν γῆς ὑπὸ (ἀπό* edd: the photographs show *ὑπο) τῆς διακοπ(ῆς) τῶν ὑδάτων*. Many more names are mentioned there, some of which are probably comprised here among the 'partners'. They do not include *Τώβ*, see 182 here, and there are probably at least two persons called Phib there (195, 196, 204). The concession in wheat there is, by cancellus measure, art. 34 ½ choen. 1, and so less than that here, art. 42 ½ choen. 2, while the money concession is greater, sol. 7 ½ $\frac{1}{12}$ instead of 3 ½ ⅛ $\frac{1}{48}$. A solidus would probably buy 10 or 11 artabas of wheat, cf. e.g. **3805** 46, so that the overall concession has decreased by the date of our document. This is what we might expect as the flood damage was gradually repaired by cultivation, although in the previous entry the damage seems to have been more severe.

The figures for the solidi are very faded. Probably they were added later in a different ink, cf. 194 n.

183 Possibly restore *μηχ(ανῆς) Τῆς [Οὐ]ϲί(ας)*, cf. 207 *μ.τ. Μεγάλ(ης) Οὐσί(ας)*. If so, the irrigator is unknown. Its name is transferred to the land served by it, see WB s.v., A. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 1 (1920) 309–13.

184–5 This entry is related to the much more detailed one in **1911** 147–9. There is no doubt that the number of carats deducted is 200, written here in an elaborate form with a double curve as the base of the sigma. According to the new reading the monastery gets 1,000 artabas for a notional sol. 41 car. 16, i.e. sol. 50 less car. 200 or sol. 8 car. 8, and the solidus is exactly equivalent to 24 artabas instead of between 10 and 13, cf. **3805** 46, LI **3628** 11, 25, 29. This only intensifies the force of the note to **1911** 147 on the high value here of the solidus. Possibly the reason is that it is a charitable and not a commercial transaction, cf. Hardy, 139–45, esp. 142. If we include the extra art. 12, the value is even higher, but this destroys the symmetry of the figures. I have assumed that the art. 12 are not equated with money, see 258–62 n.

For the monastery see P. Barison, *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 75–7, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 70 (1987) 54–6.

According to the wording of **1911** the 1,000 artabas of wheat are *συγχωρηθ(εῖσαι) αὐτοῖς ἐκ κελεύσεως ἀπὸ γραμμ(άτων) τοῦ δεσπότου τοῦ ὑπάτου ἀπὸ ε ἰνδ(ικ.) (ἔτους) ϛλγ καὶ cβ*, 'conceded to them by order in virtue of a letter of the master the consul dating from the fifth indiction, year 233 and 202', that is, by written order of Flavius Strategius Apion Strategius Apion, the consul of AD 539, dating from AD 556/7. See introduction.

185 *ἐν τῇ ἡμέρ(ᾳ) τοῦ μεγάλου ἀνθρώπου*. In **1911** 149 n. it was suggested that this might refer to the birthday of Flavius Apion the consul of AD 539. It is more likely that *μέγας ἄνθρωπος* is the equivalent of the Coptic term ⲛⲟⲩ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ 'great man', according to Crum 'often equivalent to abbot or archimandrite', see H. E. Winlock, W. E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius* Part I, 131; cf. R. Engelbach, *Annales du Service* 39 (1939) 315, note *c*. In that case it may refer to an anniversary connected with the founder of the monastery, possibly its titular Apa Andrew. The term may be traced back into the pre-Christian period in the demotic *pꜣ rmṯ ꜥꜣ*, see J. Quaegebeur, *Proc. XVI Int. Congr. Pap.*, 529, *Orientalia Lovanensia Periodica* 8 (1977) 142, L. Kákosy, *ZÄS* 97 (1971) 98. I am grateful to Dr Mark Smith for valuable help and advice on this subject.

186–7 Cf. **1911** 150–1, where the same concession is made *κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν τοῦ κυροῦ (= κυρίου*, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 302, ii 26–7) *πατρικίου Στρατηγίου*. Clearly this Strategius died in the interval between **1911** and this account, see introduction.

188–90 Cf. **1911** 139–40. Evidently the concession went back at least to the date of **1911**, AD 556/7. It ought to have been made in the year preceding the period of this account, but was not, so that it had to be deducted twice here.

191–2 Not in **1911**.

193 Not in **1911**. It is not clear whether there is any real connection between *ἐδάφ(ους) Ἀθανασίου* and *δικαίου Ἀθανασίου*, 139–40.

194 The totals are correct, but the total of solidi was made up first without the figures from 181, which were then introduced with *ἄλλ(α)* and added to the first total. The implication is that the figures for solidi in 181 and 182–3 were added after the whole of the column had been written as far as the first total of solidi in 194. Then the figures in 181–3 were added and the corresponding changes made at the end of 194.

195 Not in **1911**.

196–203 = **1911** 107 15. The real differences are minor except for the different order of entries. The better state of this text allows several corrections in the readings of the names.

196 = **1911** 107, but the figures are here reserved for the total in 203. The same figures are repeated at the right of **1911** 107, cf. 116, and here 204 n., but do not appear in the edition. The photographs do not show any certain ink immediately after *Ταρουεέβτ* where the edition has . . . (?), but the original may have something there.

On *αὐτουργία* see Hardy, 117, but it remains a shadowy phenomenon. The word seems to imply cultivation by estate employees instead of the usual tenant farmers.

197 = **1911** 108. The readings of the names here are certain and the photographs of **1911** show no reason why we should not read *Παπάρ* and *Ψαειᾶ*, cf. 199 n., there too. The *μηχ(ανῆς) καλουμ(ένης) Παπάρ* in XIX **2244** 32 has no obvious connection with this *ἔδαφος Παπάρ*; cf. 159 n.

Here after (*ἀρ.*) ∟ **d** there is something which looks most like $\lambda\beta = \frac{1}{32}$; the photographs of **1911** show nothing and do not even have space available.

198 = **1911** 112. *Cχορδᾶ* rather than *Cχόρδο[υ]* is confirmed by the photographs of **1911**. The figures for the aruras here are completely uncertain, but it does seem clear that the solidi were no more than *νο(μ.)* ∟, whereas **1911** 112 is supposed to have (*ἀρ.*) *α νο(μ.)* ∟ **d**. The photographs are very black at this point. The figures of solidi here give the correct total, which is also given in **1911** 107, so that we expect no divergences.

199–201 The figures for the aruras in these two entries seem significantly related, i.e. 'from ar. $7\frac{1}{8}$ ar. $4\frac{1}{48}$' (199), and 'from ar. $7\frac{1}{8}$ ar. 3' (201), but it is not clear what conclusions we should draw. The fact that the concessions also add up to $7\frac{1}{8}$ aruras may be accidental. The rates of the concessions are different, sol. $\frac{1}{8}$ per ar. in 199 and sol. $\frac{1}{2}$ per ar. in 201. The two entries are separated in **1911** 109–10, 113–14, and the second one does not have there the information that the three aruras are part of a unit of $7\frac{1}{8}$ aruras.

199 = **1911** 109. The photographs favour reading there *Φηλταγβέλ* for *Φηλαγβέλ*, *π(αρά)* for *δ(ιά)*, and *Ψαειᾶ*, cf. 197 n., for *Ψαείου*. It seems that *π(αρά)* introduces the name of a former tenant, *δι(ά)* that of a current one, see 170 = **1911** 97 *cπειρομένης ποτὲ π(αρὰ) Cμαράγδου*, **1911** 109 *γεωργουμέ(νου) ποτὲ π(αρὰ) Φιλέου*, while our entry in 199 omits *ποτε*, 200 = **1911** 113 where both have *γεωργουμέ(νου) ποτὲ π(αρὰ) Κολλούθου*. The point may be that it was necessary to record the name of the original beneficiary of the concession.

200–1 = **1911** 113–14, where read *π(αρά)* for *δ(ιά)*, see 199 n., and where *ἀπὸ* (*ἀρ.*) *ζ* ∟ is omitted.

202 = **1911** 111, where read *Πτυχὼν* for *Παχών* and *Ζερήνου καὶ Παύλου* for *Θέωνος Κ̣ε̣κύλου*.

203 = **1911** 115, which has *ἐδάφ(ους) βορινοῦ* in full. Probably *Βορινοῦ* has become a place-name parallel to the other *ἔδαφος* names in this passage.

δικαίου Διογένους. *δικαίου ποτὲ Διογένους* **1911** 115.

ἑτέρου Παύλου. *Παύλου ἑτέρου* **1911** 115.

The total of solidi is correct.

204 Cf. **1911** 116, where, however, instead of *οὕτως* we have a total of aruras and a total of solidi (repeated) which are clearly related to the totals given in this account at the end of the section, in 212. In both accounts the aruras total 30; here the sum in solidi is 21 $\frac{3}{8}\frac{1}{96}$, while in **1911** 116 we have sol. 21 $\frac{1}{24}\frac{1}{96}$. The photographs of **1911** show that these figures are correct. It is clear that the whole section in lines 204–12 is the overall equivalent of **1911** 116–38, though there are many more entries in **1911**. In each case it is presumably the same thirty aruras which are favoured with concessions, but the names of the beneficiaries have changed in a complicated way which has not yet been understood.

205 = **1911** 134–5, where the photographs confirm that the papyrus actually has *Πεκυcίου καὶ Παύλου*. We should delete *καί* to agree with 205, 209, and **1911** 119 (*Πεκυcίου Παύλου ἀμπελ(ουργοῦ)*), 128; see also XVI p. 296 (index s.v. *Πεκύcιος*).

Anuthius son of Aciar may be the son of Aciar son of Anuthius (80, 87) and named after his grandfather according to the widespread custom.

206 There is no exact counterpart to this in **1911**, where there are four entries for the *ἔδαφος Cεύθου*, lines 118–21, each recording a concession of sol. $\frac{1}{8}$ on 1 arura to a separate person, none of them Isaac son of Ammonius. The rate of the concession is the same here.

207 = **1911** 122–3, where the photographs favour *Φοιβάμμωνος* in place of *καὶ Μαξίμωνος*. Here *Coυροῦc* is treated as indeclinable, but the genitive *Coυροῦτος* is found there. **1911** 122 has *ἐκ* before *τοῦ δικαίου* and 123 has, before the figures also occurring here, *ἀπὸ* (*ἀρ.*) *ιγ φόρ(ου) νο(μ.) ια*. This last seems to mean that Surus and company cultivated 13 ar. assessed at sol. 11, which is surprising since the concession is expressed as sol. $2\frac{1}{4}$ on ar. 3, i.e. sol. $\frac{3}{4}$ per ar. rather than sol. $\frac{11}{13}$ per ar. This shows that we should not attempt to calculate the rent on the total areas given in, for example, 199 and 200–1 from the rates of the concessions on parts of them.

208 The position and certain other similarities invite comparison with **1911** 124 which runs:

ὑπὲρ ὀνόμα(τος) Φοιβάμμωνος Ἀτρῆτος ἀπὸ δικαίου τῆς μηχ(ανῆς)
Ναυατὲ ἐδάφ(ους) Πατερίου (*ἀρ.*) *β νο(μ.) α* ∟.

The figures are the same and Hatres son of Phoebammon could well be the son of Phoebammon son of Hatres. However, the photographs of **1911**, though dull, do not suggest that we should alter *ἐδάφ(ους) Πατερίου* (also in 126) to *ἐ. Παγένι*, which is probably a short genitive of the common name *Παγένης*, cf. XLIII **3102** 5 n., XLIV **3169** 181 n. There may be a clerical error in one text or the other, or there may have been two names for the same area.

209 Cf. **1911** 128–31, where for *Καμηρ*, *Καμ[ηρ( )*, *Καμηρ( )* and *. . .η* read *Καμῆ*, *Καμ[ῆ*, *Καμὴ* and *Κ̣αμῆ*; see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 77 for a *κτῆμα Καμῆ*, only in XVI **1972** 10.

210 = **1911** 136–7.

211 = **1911** 138. The *μαρτύριον Ἀκακίου* is linked by P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 25, with a little-known place called *Ἀκακίου*, cf. XVI **1910** 4 *εἰc τὸ μαρτύρ(ιον) τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήμ(ατος) Λεωνίδου*. However, in PSI III 246.8 the place is a *κώμη*, *[Ἀ]κ[α]κίου*, and in PSI I 60.12 it is an *ἐποίκιον*, *Ἀκακίγ̣υ*. Both look doubtful. No martyr called Acacius is listed in H. Delehaye, *Les Martyrs d'Egypte*. There was a martyrium of Acacius in Constantinople, dedicated by Constantine I, see A. Grabar, *Martyrium* i 231, cf. 71 n. 8, 318, J. Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance*, 76–8, cf. 32 n. 3. It seems not too unlikely that land near Oxyrhynchus might belong or have belonged to such an institution, which might either have collected its rent by agency of the Apions or simply have sold the property to them because of the inconvenience of collecting the rent. For the moment the idea remains speculative. I cannot cite any other example of a church in the capital owning property in Egypt. The martyrium of St Serenus may have been in Oxyrhynchus, see 164 n.; it has no namesake in the indexes to Grabar and Ebersolt opp. citt.

212 Cf. **1911** 125–6, 132–3, which look as if they contain the equivalent of 212, but do not fit exactly as they stand in the edition:

125 *καὶ ὑπὲρ ὀνόμα(τος) Φοιβάμμωνος διακ(όνου) δι(ὰ) Παμουθίου Ὁρcέντου*
διακ(όνου) ἀπὸ (*ἀρουρ.*) *γ* ∟
126 *ἐδάφ(ους) Πατερίου* (*ἀρουρ.*) *α νο(μ.)* ∟*δ′*,
132 *ὑπὲρ ὀνόμα(τος) Ἀβρααμίου Ἰακὼβ Πατᾶτος ὑπὲρ . . . . . ιϛκεοcίου*
(*ἀρουρ.*) *α νο(μ.)* ∟*δ′ καὶ*
133 *ὑπὲρ ὀνόμα(τος) Φοιβάμμωνος Ἰακὼβ διακ(όνου)* (*ἀρουρ.*) *α*∟*δ′* / (*ἀρουρ.*)
β ∟, *νο(μ.) α*∟*γ′κ*[*δ′*]

The photographs, though dull, favour *Ὁρcεντίου*, as here, cf. 81 n. It is possible that our Horsentius was the son of the Pamuthius in **1911** 125 and had the same name as his grandfather.

The ar. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in **1911** 125 look as if they are the same as those here in 212.

In **1911** 132 the photographs allow us to accept *ὑπὲρ ἐδ̣άφ(ους)*– hardly visible at all—*Κ̣ρ̣ιcκεντίου*, much as in 212 here. This is the phonetic equivalent of *Κρηcκεντίου*, i.e. a Greek version of Crescentius. The *ἔδαφος Πατερίου* does not appear here, however.

We may perhaps guess that *Ἰακώβ* (alias?) *Πατᾶc*, father of Abraham in **1911** 132, is the same Jacob who is the father of Phoebammon the deacon in 133, cf. 125, and that that is why these two parcels of land are linked. Our Phoebammon son of Jacob is presumably the same deacon.

The photographs are unfortunately very black at important points in **1911**. If we tabulate the figures we find certain similarities, but also some surprises, especially the internal inconsistencies in **1911** 132–3:

3804	212	ar. $3\frac{1}{2}$	sol. $2\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{48}$
1911	126	ar. 1	sol. $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$
	132	ar. 1	sol. $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$
	133	ar. $1\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$ (!)	sol. nil (!?)
(total 132+133)		ar. $2\frac{1}{2}$	sol. $1\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{24}$ (!?).

If we add the figures in **1911** 126 to the figures given at the end of 133 for the total of the other two parcels we reach ar. $3\frac{1}{2}$, sol. $2\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$, which agrees with the figure for aruras here in 212 and is short by $\frac{1}{48}$ in the solidi. The restoration of *κ*[*δ μη*] instead of *κ*[*δ*] in **1911** 133 at the end would make the agreement perfect.

196 203 = **1911** 107–15. The real differences are minor except for the different order of entries. The better state of this text allows several corrections in the readings of the names.

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δικαίου Διογένους. δικαίου ποτὲ Διογένους **1911** 115.

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The total of solidi is correct.

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as sol. $2\frac{1}{4}$ on ar. 3, i.e. sol. $\frac{3}{4}$ per ar. rather than sol. $\frac{11}{13}$ per ar. This shows that we should not attempt to calculate the rent on the total areas given in, for example, 199 and 200 1 from the rates of the concessions on parts of them.

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The figures are the same and Hatres son of Phoebammon could well be the son of Phoebammon son of Hatres. However, the photographs of **1911**, though dull, do not suggest that we should alter *ἐδάφ(ους) Πατερίου* (also in 126) to *ἐ. Παγένι*, which is probably a short genitive of the common name *Παγένης*, cf. XLIII **3102** 5 n., XLIV **3169** 181 n. There may be a clerical error in one text or the other, or there may have been two names for the same area.

209 Cf. **1911** 128–31, where for *Καμῆ, Καμ[ηο( ), Καμηο( )* and *. . . η* read *Καμῆ, Καμ[ῆ, Καμῆ* and *Κ̣αμῆ*; see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 77 for a *κτῆμα Καμῆ*, only in XVI **1972** 10.

210 = **1911** 136–7.

211 = **1911** 138. The *μαρτύριον Ἀκακίου* is linked by P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 25, with a little-known place called *Ἀκακίου*, cf. XVI **1910** 4 *εἰς τὸ μαρτύρ(ιον) τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήμ(ατος) Λεωνίδου*. However, in PSI III 246.8 the place is a *κώμη, [Ἀ]κ[α]κίου*, and in PSI I 60.12 it is an *ἐποίκιον, Ἀκακίου*. Both look doubtful. No martyr called Acacius is listed in H. Delehaye, *Les Martyrs d'Egypte*. There was a martyrium of Acacius in Constantinople, dedicated by Constantine I, see A. Grabar, *Martyrium* i 231, cf. 71 n. 8, 318, J. Ebersolt, *Sanctuaires de Byzance*, 76–8, cf. 32 n. 3. It seems not too unlikely that land near Oxyrhynchus might belong or have belonged to such an institution, which might either have collected its rent by agency of the Apions or simply have sold the property to them because of the inconvenience of collecting the rent. For the moment the idea remains speculative. I cannot cite any other example of a church in the capital owning property in Egypt. The martyrium of St Serenus may have been in Oxyrhynchus, see 164 n.; it has no namesake in the indexes to Grabar and Ebersolt opp. citt.

212 Cf. **1911** 125–6, 132–3, which look as if they contain the equivalent of 212, but do not fit exactly as they stand in the edition:

125 *καὶ ὑπὲρ ὀνόμα(τος) Φοιβάμμωνος διακ(όνου) δι(ὰ) Παμουθίου Ὀρσέντου*
διακ(όνου) ἀπὸ (ἀρου.) γ ⌊
126 *ἐδάφ(ους) Πατερίου (ἀρου.) α νο(μ.)* ⌊ *δ′,*
132 *ὑπὲρ ὀνόμα(τος) Ἀβραμίου Ἰακὼβ Πατᾶτος ὑπὲρ . . . . . ιςκεοσίου*
(ἀρου.) α νο(μ.) ⌊ *δ′ καὶ*
133 *ὑπὲρ ὀνόμα(τος) Φοιβάμμωνος Ἰακὼβ διακ(όνου) (ἀρου.) α*⌊ *δ′ / (ἀρου.)*
β ⌊, *νο(μ.) α*⌊ *γ′κ[δ′]*

The photographs, though dull, favour *Ὀρσεντίου*, as here, cf. 81 n. It is possible that our Horsentius was the son of the Pamuthius in **1911** 125 and had the same name as his grandfather.

The ar. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in **1911** 125 look as if they are the same as those here in 212.

In **1911** 132 the photographs allow us to accept *ὑπὲρ ἐδάφ(ους)*—hardly visible at all—*Κρισκεντίου*, much as in 212 here. This is the phonetic equivalent of *Κρησκεντίου*, i.e. a Greek version of Crescentius. The *ἔδαφος Πατερίου* does not appear here, however.

We may perhaps guess that *Ἰακώβ* (alias?) *Πατᾶς*, father of Abraham in **1911** 132, is the same Jacob who is the father of Phoebammon the deacon in 133, cf. 125, and that that is why these two parcels of land are linked. Our Phoebammon son of Jacob is presumably the same deacon.

The photographs are unfortunately very black at important points in **1911**. If we tabulate the figures we find certain similarities, but also some surprises, especially the internal inconsistencies in **1911** 132–3:

3804	212	ar. $3\frac{1}{2}$	sol. $2\ \frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{8}\ \frac{1}{48}$
1911	126	ar. 1	sol. $\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{2}$
	132	ar. 1	sol. $\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{2}$
	133	ar. $1\ \frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}$ (!)	sol. nil (!?)
	(total 132 + 133)	ar. $2\ \frac{1}{2}$	sol. $1\ \frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{8}\ \frac{1}{24}$ (!?).

If we add the figures in **1911** 126 to the figures given at the end of 133 for the total of the other two parcels we reach ar. $3\frac{1}{2}$, sol. $2\ \frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{8}$, which agrees with the figure for aruras here in 212 and is short by $\frac{1}{48}$ in the solidi. The restoration of *κ[δ μη]* instead of *κ[δ]* in **1911** 133 at the end would make the agreement perfect.

The middle of **1911** 133, where the photographs show nothing but blackness, is suspicious because we lack the value in solidi of the concession on the stated number of aruras and because the stated number of aruras is too high by $\frac{1}{2}$ to agree with the total at the end of 133. Regularity would be achieved by assuming that instead of (ἀρ.) α ⌊ δ′ the account really had (ἀρ.) α ⌊ νο(μ.) α η μη, i.e. ar. $1\frac{1}{2}$ sol. $1\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{48}$. The photographs at least confirm that there was space for this.

The table would then stand:

3804	212	ar. $3\frac{1}{2}$	sol. $2\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{48}$
1911	126	ar. 1	sol. $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$
	132	ar. 1	sol. $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$
	133	ar. $1\frac{1}{2}$	sol. $1\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{48}$
(total 132 + 133)		ar. $2\frac{1}{2}$	sol. $1\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{24}\frac{1}{48}$

The sectional total of aruras and solidi for lines 204–12 is correct.

213 On *ποταμῖται* see D. Bonneau, *Proc. XII Intern. Congress of Papyrology* 52–3. They were canal-workers, 'navvies'.

213–17 It appears at first sight that the total in 217 fails to include the money, den. myr. 600, recorded in 215 and should therefore have 1,800 instead of 1,200. If so, the error continued into the column total in 220 and into the grand total of expenses in 271. It might have occurred because the special form of sigma which stands for 200 looks very like an omega (= 800) with a horizontal stroke across the top. However, we might guess alternatively that it is the figure in 216 which is wrong, the clerk writing 1,200 by anticipation of the total, when he ought to have given the payment to the overseer as 600, the same sum as the expenditure on food. In that case the subtotal (217), and the column total (220), and the grand total (271), would all be correct and the error confined to 216. This seems more likely.

The process that this entry refers to is probably that of digging an underground brick-lined cistern (*λάκκος*), from which water would be drawn by a wooden sakiyeh (*μηχανή*), driven by animals. Probably it was very similar to the modern method described by L. Ménassa, P. Laferrière, *La Sāqia* (Bibliothèque d'Etude 67, 1974).

The expenses on foodstuffs (214–15) are interesting. From LI **3628–33** (p. 74) we can see that meat would probably have cost 24–30 den. myr. per lb., radish oil 80–105 den. myr. per sextarius in the fifth century. There was probably some rise in prices in the sixth, so that it would not take any vast amount of salt-fish, oil, and mutton to amount to 600 den. myr. One artaba of wheat represents a monthly allowance for one man, probably intended to maintain his family also, see XL p. 6, but it would obviously disappear rather more quickly down the throats of a gang of navvies. I speculate, therefore, that these foodstuffs represent one or two specially good dinners eaten by the workmen and local farmers to celebrate the completion of the job or of various important stages of it, as described in L. Ménassa, P. Laferrière, op. cit., 3, 5; note especially 'un mouton aura été égorgé pour la circonstance', p. 3. We may compare the distribution of wine to mark the completion of a new cistern in PSI III 165.2–3, cf. D. Bonneau, *Proc. XII Intern. Congress of Papyrology* 50 n. 45, 51 n. 49.

218–19 Cf. **1911** 181–92, esp. 191–2, where 1,200 were bought, but they were probably new, since they cost sol. 3 less car. 13 $\frac{1}{3}$. Many more jars were needed for that vintage.

218 *κατ'αγγιςμον*. Possibly the clerk meant to write *καταγ'γιςμον*, cf. e.g. 148 *παγ'γα* for *Παγγᾶ*.

220 The total of solidi is correct. See 213–17 n. for doubts about the total of denarii.

221 *Ἀπανακίω*. This name is usually presented as *ἄπα Νάκιος*, but since I can find no instance of *Νάκιος*, I believe that the religious title *ἄπα* is not involved; cf. D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, 38, where there is a list of ordinary names often appearing with *ἄπα*, and esp. J. Keenan, *ZPE* 34 (1979) 136 n. line 7. Cf. P. Hamb. III 228.13 n. on *Ἀπαςίριος/ἄπα Cίριος*.

ψαλ{λ}ίδα τοῦ λάκκου τῆς μηχ(ανῆς), 'vault of the cistern of the sakiyeh', cf. LSJ s.v. *ψαλίς* II, L. Ménassa, P. Laferrière, *La Sāqia*, 1–7, esp. p. 6 fig. 4. The underground cistern of the sakiyeh was walled with brick or stone and vaulted over except for a comparatively narrow aperture where the vertical wheel with its chain of pots entered it. This explanation also applies probably to XLVIII **3409** 25–6 *ἡ γὰρ ψελλὶς* (= *ψαλίς*) *τοῦ λάκκου μου ἔπεςεν*, cf. P. Ross.-Georg. II 19.33–4, where we might guess at the sense by restoring *ἂν δὲ χρεία γένηται ἐ[πικευῆς λάκ]κου ἢ ψελλίδος* (= *ψαλίδος*), *ἔςται π[ρὸς τὸν Π]ρειμίωνα*, 'If there is need for repair of cistern or vault, it will be at the expense of Primion', who was the owner of the vineyard concerned.

The wording here suggests and the photographs allow that we should now read **1911** 157–8 as *ἐργαζομέ(νοις) εἰς τὴν ψαλ{λ}ίδα τοῦ λάκκου τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) τῶν χωρ(ίων) ..ρίου καὶ Ταρουcέβ*. Delete **ψαλίδωcις*, suggested in **1911** 157 n., from S. Daris, *Spoglio Lessicale*. The photographs are too dark to confirm *..ρίου*.

221–2 *μηχ(ανῆς) Παρὰ Ποταμὸν τοῦ κτήμα(τος) Τριγήου*. It is likely that *Παρὰ Ποταμόν* was a common designation for a sakiyeh and this one is probably not identical with the one in XVI **1985** 10, which is associated with the *ἐποίκιον Μικρᾶς Θώλθεως*; cf. XIX **2244** 65 *τῆς μεγάλ(ης) μηχ(ανῆς) Π.Π.* In **1911** 166–7 stones were bought from quarrymen of Trigyu for the cistern of *τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) παρὰ ποταμὸν* (read *Π.Π.*) *τῆς οὔcης ἐπάνω τοῦ προμούλου τοῦ κτήμα(τος) Ἀντᾶ*. The rare word *πρόμουλον* (cf. *πρόμωλον*) may be related to *προμολή* and mean 'approach, outskirts', see LSJ and esp. Suppl., s.v. *προμολή*. If so, and if Anta adjoined Trigyu, as may be implied (cf. 156 here), there remains the possibility that that irrigator is the same as the one named here. The *ποταμός* is not necessarily the Nile, since the word often means 'canal' in the papyri. The presence of quarrymen suggests that this hamlet lay nearer the Western Desert than the Nile, cf. introd.

223 *προcχώcαντι . . . τὴν . . . ἄρουρ(αν) . . . τὴν ἀφανιcθ(εῖcαν)*. It is not clear what the work was. Possibly he embanked the place where the waters had broken through and swept away the vines. Or alternatively he may have replaced topsoil that had been swept away. The noun *πρόcχωcις* appears in unhelpful contexts in BGU II 656.7(?), P. Rein. I 52 *bis* 26. The verb appears in P. Ryl. IV 653.8 (*προcχώνουcιν τὸ ῥίθρον = προcχωννύουcιν τὸ ῥεῖθρον*), 10 (*προcχώcαντας τὸ cτόμαιον* (= *cτόμιον*) *τῆς διώρυχος*), cf. 15 *ἀποφράς[cο]υcιν τὸ ῥίθρον*. The Rylands papyrus favours the view that the work of embankment was meant here.

223–4 For vines in Tarusebt see **1911** 182, 191, and for grapes and wine on the Apion estates see Hardy, 118–22.

224 *πιττακ(ίοις)*. Cf. Hardy, 98, XXVII **2480** 34 n.

225 *π(αρὰ) Θεοδώρου πρ(ονοητοῦ) Ἀπελῆ*. This is the person whose accounts this roll represents, see 143 n. In this case it seems unlikely that *π(αρά)* should be translated as 'from'; more likely is 'by', cf. Kühner-Gerth i p. 510 (§440).δ. If so, one might suppose that it was here not much different from *διά*, 'by agency of', but in 246 hayseed is bought *παρά* two men, *διά* another. In other similar entries *π(αρά)* does seem more likely to mean 'from', e.g. **1911** 191, where pots were bought from, presumably, the potters of Taruthinu. See also 170 and n., where I have translated it, very doubtfully, by 'on behalf of'.

225–7 For the *βαδιcτικὸν cτάβλον* see Hardy, 106–8, corrected as regards its connection with the *cursus uelox* by J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 57.

226 *Λοcί*. This version is not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, but cf. *Λόc*. The iota here is a tall vertical which seems hard to interpret in any other way. The form may be a short genitive, cf. XLIII **3102** 5 n., F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii, 56, 78–9.

228 *κατωτίου*. Cf. 230, 232–3, 235. See P. Lond. III 1164(h).10 (p. 164), where it appears as a two-oared boat serving as a tender (cf. 235 n.) to a grain-carrying boat of 400 artabas burden; cf. M. Merzagora, *Aegyptus* 10 (1929) 143. For boats connected with the Apion estates see Hardy, 109–10; add XXVII **2480** 2, 15, 24, 26, 34, 36, all relating to a new *καρίc*.

229 *ἐλαίου*. This oil was evidently for lubrication, but its exact use is not clear. Cf. perhaps L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, 205–6, 'there is some evidence that the tenons were greased to make them fit their slots'; also R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records* No. 82.3, *olei in lib*(*urnam*) *Luci*, 'oil for the *liburna* of Lucius'.

230 A notary called John, cf. 255, appears in XVI **1913** 27 (AD 555/62?), but need not be identical.

231 The counting of the days is inclusive: Pharmuthi 28–30 (3 days), Pachon 1–30 (30 days), Payni 1–30 (30 days), Epeiph 1 (1 day) = 64 days.

232 If *λεπιδίων* is rightly read, this entry duplicates 257 exactly and should not have appeared in the account twice. Cf. XVIII **2195** 141 (*λεπιδίων*), XXVII **2480** 2 (*λεπίδας*), BGU II 544.8 (*λεπίδος cιδηρᾶς κίcτας ὀκτώ*: so F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *λεπίς*; *λεπίδας* ed. pr., but cf. 9–10 *ἥλου* [*χαλ*]*κοῦ κίcτας τρεῖς*, 11 *ἥλου cιδηροῦ κίcτας ἕνδεκα*, 12–13 *κέν*[*τ*]*ρου cιδηροῦ κίcτην μίαν*). L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, refers to lead sheathing, see especially the table pp. 214–16, but not to iron sheathing. However, the new reading by R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records* No. 82, of P. Ryl. II 223.13–14 may be presented as *lamna*[*m*]*s ferream* (l. *laminas ferreas*) *'ii' in lib*(*urnam*) *ueterem Timeti—fer*(*ri*) *p*(*ondo librae*) *ix s*(*emis*), 'iron sheets, 2, for the old *liburna* of Timetus—iron, pounds $9\frac{1}{2}$'. *Lamna*[*m*]*s* is also read in A. Bruckner, R. Marichal, *ChLA* IV No. 242. The low weight, $4\frac{3}{11}$ lbs. each on average, indicates that they were not particularly large. An 'iron

scale' could possibly be a plate used as part of a fastening in this case, although in P. Ryl. 223 it may be more likely that they were used for repairs.

233, 235 *κηπαριccίων* = *κυπαριccίων*. Cf. XVIII **2195** 141, where perhaps expand the abbreviation to *κυπαριc(ίων)*. For cypress wood in shipbuilding see L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, 212, 213 n. 52, P. Apoll. 31.1; 32.2, 3, 11. In P. Beatty Panop. 2.178 it is to be used for steering oars.

ἀτόπου, 'of unknown origin(?)'. This word meaning 'out of place' is never used literally or colourlessly but always figuratively, 'absurd, eccentric, monstrous'. Comparing 149 *Μηνᾶ ναύτου ἀπὸ Κόμα*, see n., I guess that the clerk felt that the sailor ought to be identified by his origin and therefore put in *ἀτόπου* to show that it was not just a clerical oversight that it was not given.

235 It is not entirely clear that this *κατώτιον* is the same as the *γεουχικὸν κ.* of lines 228, 230, and 232. The succession of entries 'price of cypress wood . . . for the landlord's *κατώτιον*' and 'to sawyers who sawed cypress wood . . . for the *κατώτιον* . . . lately belonging to . . . Scholasticius' suggests that it probably is, although it is strange to find this elaborate identification of the boat in the last entry referring to it and not in the first.

Another difficulty lies in the translation of *τοῦ κατωτίου πλοί(ου) τοῦ ποτε τοῦ . . . Cχολαστικίου*. It might possibly mean either 'the *catotion*-boat lately belonging to . . .' or 'the *catotion* (i.e. tender, see 228 n.) of the boat lately belonging to . . .'.

ποτε τοῦ μακαρίου Cχολαστικίου. Cf. **3805** 23, XVI **1912** 149 *ἐξ ἐπι[τρ]οπῆς τοῦ κόμ(ετος) Cχολαστικ(ίου)*, XIX **2244** 65 *δι(ὰ) Πετρωνίου καταμ(είναντος?)*—cf. I. F. Fikhman, *Proc. XII Int. Congr. Pap.*, 127–9—*τοῦ κόμ(ετος) Cχολαστικίου* (*Cχολαστικοῦ* ed. pr., but the papyrus has *-ίου*; iota was concealed in an unnoticed fold), XXIV **2416** 19 *ἐπίδ(οc) τῷ κόμ(ετι) Cχολαστικίῳ*, P. Wash. Univ. I 42.8–9 *ἐπίδρ(ος) τῷ δεcπ(ότῃ) μο(υ) τὰ πά(ν)τ(α) μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτῳ) περιβλ(έπτῳ) . . . Cχολαστικίῳ κόμε(τι)*, P. Ross.-Georg. III 12.10 † *cὺν θ(ε)ῷ τῇ δεcποί(νῃ) μου Φιλοcτοργ(ίᾳ?)*—I suspect *φιλοcτόργ(ῳ)* or *φιλοcτοργ(οτάτῃ)* is more likely to be correct—*μητρ(ὶ)* † *Cχολαcτίκιος υἱὸ(c) αὐτ(ῆc)*. Unfortunately none of these papyri has a date. It seems nearly certain that all the *comites* are the same, and not unlikely that the last one is also the same. If so, all are to be dated not later than AD 565/6.

236 *δι(ὰ) Φιλοξένου πρ(ονοητοῦ) Νετνήου*, cf. 260–1. In XVI **2032** possibly of AD 540/1, see BL VI 105, we hear of another steward of this hamlet called Cyriacus (46, 48). For the place itself see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 119. In PSI III 165.4 we find it mentioned along with Iscum Panga (1, 5) and Cissonos (4), and its appearances here and in **1911** indicate that the area of its stewardship cannot have been far from the one dealt with in this account, that is, it was in the far south of the Oxyrhynchite nome. Cf. **3805** 108 n.

237 *μανδακ( )*. Possible expansions are *μανδακ(ῶν)*, *μανδάκ(ων)*, and *μανδακ(ίων)*, from *μανδάκης*, *μάνδαξ* (or *μάνδακον*?), and *μανδάκιον*, see *ZPE* 46 (1982) 204. These words usually denote a measure of capacity, often translated 'bundle'. It may here therefore mean a receptacle that could be carried by a camel. However, H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus*, suggests that its basic meaning is 'skin, leather'. If so, it may refer here to leather harness, while *cχοινί(ων)* will be rope harness. Somewhat comparable is XLVIII **3407** 3–9 *cπουδάcαται* (= *-ατε*) *τὸν ταυρελάτην μετὰ τῶν μόcχων καὶ τοῦ ζυγοῦ καὶ cχοινίω(ν) αὐτῶν ἐξελάcε* (= *-αι*) . . . *πρὸc cύρcιν λίθου*. The ropes there, though, may be tackle for hauling stones rather than ordinary harness.

238 Cf. **1911** 156, for the same sum to three *camelarii* for the fifth indiction *κατὰ τὸ ἔθοc*, cf. Hardy, 109.

239 For *χάρτης* meaning especially 'papyrus roll' see N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity*, 70–8.

διφθερ(ῶν). This word, meaning 'skin', often refers to writing material. There are other signs that it had some technical sense in the Byzantine period. In another Apion account PSI VIII 953.48–9 we find an allowance of jars of wine delivered to *bucellarii* *λόγ(ῳ) ἀναλώμ(ατος) τοῦ Παῦνι μη(νὸc) ἀκολούθ(ωc) τῷ καθ'ἓν ὄντ(ι) ἐν τῷ διφθερ( ) τοῦ ἀναλώμ(ατος) τῆ(c) α ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)*, 'on account of expenses for the month of Payni in accordance with the detailed account, which is in the *διφθερ( )*, of the expenses of the first indiction'. If *τῷ* is right, *διφθερ( )* must be some cognate of *διφθέρα* such as *διφθέριον* or *διφθέρωμα*. In this case it contained an itemized account of the global entry of the wine issued to the *bucellarii*. In the Hermopolite estate account P. Bad. IV 95 one fragmentary entry runs, *ἐξ(οδιαcμοῦ) τῆc μακα[ρί]α(c) Θεοδ[ώρ](ας) διφθ[ερ-* (554). In XVI **1877** 15 an endorsement on a fragmentary record of proceedings before a *praeses Arcadiae* runs, † *διφθ(έρα) τῶν ῥιπαρ(ίων) τῆc Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτῶν)*. If *τῶν διφθερ(ῶν)* here retains the sense of 'skin' the papyrus rolls must serve some subsidiary purpose; perhaps they were used for drafts. It may be that important and authoritative records were kept on parchment.

τοῦ γεουχικ(οῦ) χαρτουλαρίου. It is not clear precisely what is meant by 'the landlord's secretary'. Hardy, 94–5, distinguishes three groups of *chartularii*. Note too I **136** 17 18 *παρεχόμενόν μοι . . . παρὰ τῶν αἰδεcίμων χαρτουλαρίων τοῦ ἐνδόξου αὐτῆc οἴκου*.

In **1911** 152, 155 there are payments *κατὰ τὸ ἔθοc* for salaries to two *chartularii*, but no payment for papyrus such as might have been expected from *κατὰ τὸ ἔθοc* here. One custom has been established, it seems, between the fifth indiction and the fourteenth, and the other has been discontinued.

241 *ἐποικ(ίου) Λιβύης*. According to P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 97, this hamlet is known only from XIX **2243**(a) 31, where it appears under the heading *ἐν τῇ Νοτίνῃ Παρορίου* (= *-ίῳ*), line 30. In the same section there also appears the *ἐποίκιον Cωφροcύνης* (32, cf. 98 here), *Πεκτή* = *Πεκτύ* (33, cf. 85, 86, 99 here; 1st *pagus*: Pruneti, op. cit., 141–2), and *Παγγύλεως* (34), which does not appear in this account, but which is known to have lain in the first pagus, see Pruneti, op. cit., 129.

242 *ἐδάφ(ους) Μεγάλου Γηδίου*. Cf. *μηχ(ανῆc) Μεγάλου Γηδίου*, 132 above. Before *Διογένους* understand perhaps *δικαίου*, cf. 102, 100 n., but there was also an *ἔδαφοc Διογένους*, cf. 126, **1911** 53.

ἐδάφ(ους) Ὀξιδᾶ. This place has not been found elsewhere.

243 *ἀντὶ χόρτου*. It seems that the field-guards were supposed to be paid in kind, cf. XVI **1913** 16–18 (wheat). They seem to get money again in XVI **2033** ii 7.

προcάπαξ. My translation has 'in a lump sum', but perhaps it means 'once and for all', i.e. as the last payment of arrears of the previous indiction.

244–5 Cf. **1911** 178–80, **1913** 36–9, XVIII **2195** 132–3, all three entries very similar to this one. They differ in the dates, the names of the *χορτοπαραλήμπται*, and in the sums involved. This and **1911** concern the same stewardship, but **1913** and **2195** are from two others, so that it appears that the expense of these regular purchases of hayseed was shared among at least three stewardships. In **1913** we find that the steward concerned accounted for two thirds of the amount bought while the remaining third fell to the share of another steward: *ἀφ'(ὧν) ἠνέχθ(η) δ(ιὰ) Ἰουλιανοῦ προν(οητοῦ) Ἀκτουαρίου κατὰ τὸ γ μέρ(οc) κτλ.* (38–9).

The next entry is similar, but the hayseed is not bought from the same source.

244 *Ἄρεως*, cf. 248. See P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 33–4, citing only the parallel passages (see previous note) and the very doubtfully read SB VI 9270.2, 19. The view of M. Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite*, 70, that there was no place of this name in the Oxyrhynchite nome and that this is the Hermopolite village seems very likely to be correct, cf. 246 n. It might well have been convenient to go southwards for the purchase of seed, since the portion of the Apion estates here concerned lay in the south of the Oxyrhynchite nome.

Φιλοξένου χορτοπαραλήμπτ(ου). A man with the same name and title occurs in XVI **2032** 74. J. Gascou, *CE* 47 (1972) 243–5, has argued that **2032** should be assigned to the indiction year AD 540/1, cf. BL VI 105. See now also *ZPE* 70 (1987) 56, in a text dated 19 June AD 556.

245 *τῆc γεουχικ(ῆc) αὐτουργί(ας) Πάθ Ταμπεμοῦ καὶ Νοτίν(ης) Παρορ(ίου)*. Cf. 247. The same *αὐτουργία* is mentioned in the three parallel passages (see 244–5 n.) with the variation that *γεουχικ(ῆc)* is replaced by *νοτίν(ης)* in XVIII **2195** 133. This looks like a clerical error, but it need not be. The collocation *Πάθ Ταμπεμοῦ* occurs only in these passages. The second element is the name of a village in the Eastern toparchy at first, later in the fifth *pagus*, and plausibly identified with the modern village of Tambu, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 188–9 and map (at end). The *Νοτίνη Παρόριος* seems to belong to an area farther south associated with the Upper (= South) toparchy and the first *pagus*, see 241 n., but that it was not far from Tambu is suggested also by XIX **2243**(a) where the section devoted to *ἡ Νοτίνη Παρόριος* (30–4) is followed immediately by that for *Ταμπεμ[οῦ]* (35–58).

246–8 Cf. 244–5 n.

246 *π(αρά) . . . δι(ά)*. Cf. 225 n.

Cωκαρέτ. This name has not been found elsewhere in this form, but since *Ἄρεως* (244, 248) is a Hermopolite village, it is likely that this spelling represents *Cωκερή*, which was indeed near *Ἄρεως*, see M. Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite*, 254–6. The known Coptic versions are ⲧⲥⲓⲛⲥⲉⲣⲉϩⲧ and ⲧⲥⲉⲛⲥⲓⲣⲉϩⲧ (ibid. 255), which show a consonantal group at the end not hitherto present in Greek versions. The tau here is a tolerable equivalent of ϩⲧ (= ht). It is a divided tau such as occurs in *μετά* in 247. These are less usual in this document than the T-shaped ones and resemble gamma, which was my first reading, but the Coptic versions strongly support tau.

Ὀννωφρίου χορτοπαραλ(ήμπτου), cf. 244. See also **1911** 178–9 *δ(ιὰ) Ὀννωφρίου καὶ Ἰωάννου χορτοπαραλ(ημπτῶν)*, **1913** 36 *Ὀννωφρίου χ.*

249 *ἐκχύcεως*. Cf. F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. (2). In the modern sakiyeh this is a wooden trough into which the pots on the vertical wheel discharge their water. At one end of the trough is an extension

at right angles through which the water flows away into a channel, see L. Ménassa, P. Laferrière, *La Sāqia*, p. 9, fig. 8. M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 76–7, took the view that *ἐκχύσεις* were not connected with sakiyehs, but clearly the *μηχαναί* concerned here were sakiyehs and not irrigators of any less efficient type.

μηχ(ανὴν) Τῶν Χωρ(ίων) ἐποικ(ίου) Ταρουσέβτ. Again, cf. 221–2 n., the name *Τῶν Χωρίων* must have been common, see XVI **1988** 17–18, where we have an irrigator *καλουμέ(νην) Τῶν Χωρίων ἀντλοῦσαν εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ χωρία*, but this presumably stood, not in Tarusebt, but in the hamlet of Neu, which was the home of the tenant farmer whose contract **1988** is. See also XIX **2244** 28 (Calorias), 31 (Matreu), 61 (Scelus); cf. 13 *μηχ(ανῆς) κ[α]λουμ(ένης) Τῶν Χωρ(ίων) Καλιοῦτος* in Leonidu. It is not quite so clear that it is a name in **1911** 157–8, as amended above in 221 n.

250 The column totals are correct.

251 On the cultivation of *ἄραξ/ἄρακος* see M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 185–9.

254 = **1911** 153, where the words *κατὰ τὸ ἔθος* do not appear. This is because by far the largest share of the transported grain had only been granted to the monastery in AD 556/7, the same year which is concerned in the account, see **1911** 147–51 = 184–7 here.

255 Cf. 230 and n. for John the notary.

256 Again the counting is inclusive, Epeiph 2–30 (29 days), Mesore 1–10 (10 days) = 39 days, cf. 231 n.

257 See 232 n.

258–62 This entry raises several unanswered questions. The expert in shipbuilding estimated sol. 18 for payments to carpenters (*τέκτονες*); a quarter, sol. $4\frac{1}{2}$, is deducted for sawyers (*πρίσται*). Why? And why is it specifically stated that sol. $4\frac{1}{2}$ are one quarter, while sol. 4 are deducted for shipwrights (*ναυπηγοί*) without any statement about the proportion that they represent? Were the sawyers and shipwrights paid from some other account? Of the sol. $9\frac{1}{2}$ remaining 3 had already been paid from another steward's account, cf. 236, so that the remainder should be sol. $6\frac{1}{2}$, but it turns out that a further deduction has been made for no specified reason and this account paid out sol. $6\frac{3}{4}$ less car. $29\frac{1}{4}$, a fairly large loss for the carpenters, since car. 24 = sol. 1. The rate of the deduction is car. $4\frac{1}{2}$ per sol.

Once we are alerted by this entry to the fact that the estate made deductions from its disbursements, it leaps to the eye that the same rate, car. $4\frac{1}{2}$ per sol. 1, was applied in many of the entries here. Although there were other rates, this is the highest and the most common. The explanation of the practice of noting payments in solidi less carats given by L. C. West, A. C. Johnson, *Currency* 146–7, is that a tax-collector could so record the deductions that he was entitled to make on each payment and know where he stood at any moment. In **3804** the deductions seem to have been made by the estate in favour of itself before disbursement. These are similar to a few cases briefly considered by West, Johnson, ibid. 153. Note that the minus carats system of notation seems to have been applied in a different way in the calculations on the back of this roll, see **3805** 7–8 n.

It may be useful to list these entries according to the rates:

1. At car. $4\frac{1}{2}$ per sol.
   - 213–17 To canal workers: wages and stones for a cistern
   - 218–19 Purchase of old wine jars
   - 221–4 To canal workers: wages
   - 225 Purchase of riding animal
   - 226–7 Purchase of green fodder for riding stable
   - 228–36 Boatbuilding: wages and materials
   - 237 Purchase of camel harness
   - 241–3 To field guards: wages
   - 246–8 Purchase of hayseed; note 244–5, similar, at car. $3\frac{3}{8}$
   - 249 Purchase of part for an irrigation machine
   - 251–3 Purchase of chickpeas (rounded up: sol. $3\frac{13}{48}$ treated as sol. $3\frac{1}{2}$)
   - 255–62 Boatbuilding: wages and materials
   - 263–6 Purchase of millstones
   - 267–9 Purchase of various animals
2. At car. 4 per sol.
   - 184 Monetary value (notional?) of grain delivered to a monastery

3. At car. $3\frac{3}{8}$ per sol.
   - 244–5 Purchase of hayseed; note 246–8, similar, at car. $4\frac{1}{2}$
4. At car. $3\frac{1}{2}$ per sol.
   - 151–3 To mason: wages
   - 155–6 To four taskmasters: wages? (This is the rate on the total of four payments. The first two payments are actually at that rate, the third man received a slightly more favourable rate of car. $3\frac{9}{20}$, the fourth a slightly less favourable one of car. $3\frac{9}{16}$. The last two payments involved thirds of a solidus, awkward to calculate.)
   - 239–40 Purchase of papyrus rolls for estate use
   - 254 Charge for transport of grain donated to a monastery
5. At car. 3 per sol.
   - 147 Donation to a rural church; cf. below section 7
6. At car. $2\frac{1}{2}$ per sol.
   - 154 To estate steward: salary
   - 238 To camel drivers: salary
7. At car. 1 per sol.
   - 144–8 Donation to rural churches. (Five out of six churches receive this most favourable rate; one, for no visible reason, gets the rate of car. 3 per sol. The global figures in 144 confirm the itemized account in 145–8.)

In all the other entries of the expenses section the sums of gold are expressed in solidi and fractions of the solidus, just as they are in the receipts section. Most of these are not cash payments, but simply rent concessions. Only two entries appear to concern real disbursement without deduction. One is for payment of freight charges on a shipment of grain for taxes (149–50); no doubt it had to reach the state granaries net of charges. The other is for customary donations to a martyr's shrine made in the names of Apollos and Phoebammon, sons of a bishop (164–7). Hardy (pp. 141–2) plausibly deduced that the Apion family had acquired land already burdened with this obligation. Possibly the original donors had specified that the donations were to be free of encumbrances, although the Apion donations to rural churches were liable to deductions (144–8). One of the grain transfers to the monastery of Abba Andrew seems to have been made for money, although at a favourable rate (184), and the estate also paid for the transport of these 1,000 artabas plus the smaller donation of 12 artabas (254), making a deduction of car. $3\frac{1}{2}$ per sol., which is at least not the highest rate. The other two grain donations to the same monastery have no value set upon them (185–7). There is no entry for the transport of the free donation of 100 artabas, which may therefore have devolved upon the monastery.

Finally we should notice that the regular pattern of the carat deductions in the estate's disbursements does not reappear in the instalments which the steward paid into the estate's account, see 276–80 n.

For my guess at a general explanation for the use of the minus carats system see **3805** 7–8 n.

258 *καλαφατίζουσιν*. In 262 *καλαφατιζομέ(νων)*, the middle, is used without any distinction in meaning. On caulking see L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, 14 n. 15, 15, 209, 339. Presumably the boat was built by the ancient Egyptian system, so the first two references are the relevant ones. It is noticeable, however, that the word *καλαφατίζω* and cognates do not appear in the papyri till the sixth century.

κατώτιν = *κατώτιον*. Cf. 228, 235 nn. For the spelling see F. T. Gignac, ii 27–9.

259 *Ἀπολλῶ ναυπηγοῦ τῆς Κυνῶν*. This shipwright from Cynopolis is not known from elsewhere. The Apion family had property in the Cynopolite nome, see Hardy, 81–2, 84–5.

263 *Σερήνου καὶ Μεγάλου μυλοκόπ(ων)*. LI **3641**, of 7 February, AD 544, is a contract addressed to Flavius Apion II by Aurelius Serenus son of Elias, who agrees to serve Apion as a *μυλοκόπος* for his own lifetime. Elias may be the same as the *μυλοκόπος* of that name in XVI **1983** of AD 535, and his son may well be the same as the Serenus here. If so, the indiction 14 of our document, which must be later than the indiction 5 of **1911** = AD 556/7, is more likely to be AD 565/6, twenty-two years later than the beginning of Serenus' career, than any later indiction 14, cf. introduction.

264 *τοῦ νέου καλάθου τοῦ μυλαίου τοῦ γεουχικ(οῦ) ἐλαιουργί(ου) τοῦ κτήμα(τος) Ἀπελῆ*. On *κάλαθος* as part of a mill see LI **3639** 10–11 n., though my theory offered there that it means the upper millstone of a donkey-mill is damaged by the information here that 'old stones', see 265–6, could be saved when a new one was installed. The upper stone of a donkey-mill was made in one piece. A complicated device made

up of several slabs of stone secured round wooden spars and thought to have been used for grinding or milling is illustrated in E. M. Husselman, *Karanis. Topography and Architecture* (1979), Pl. 92a, cf. p. 54.

The oil factory was the property of the owners of the estate and only leased to the oil-maker, see Hardy, 130–1, cf. line 77 above.

265–6 According to the contract of AD 544, LI **3641**, the *μυλοκόπος* was to receive sol. 2⅔ 'for every new *strobilus* and every new *calathus*' (13), *ἐμοῦ λαμβάνοντος τοὺς παλαιοὺς λίθους*. It was not clear whether it was sol. 2⅔ for each part or for both. We may now guess that it was for both and that the *strobilus* was more expensive, because the price of a *calathus* here is only sol. 1⅓, from which is deducted sol. ⅓ for the old stones, in spite of what **3641** appears to state, and even from the remaining solidus a further charge of car. 4½ is deducted. The rate of this last deduction is the same as that applied to the carpenter's wages in 258–62 above, see n.

267 *ὀνοθηλ(είας)*. This is a rare word cited only from the papyri, VI **922** 24, 25, P. Colt Nessana 89.31, 34, both VI–VII, and from the glossaries, CGL II 384.16, III 399.54, 56. Ducange adds Demetrius Constantinopolit. lib. 2. Hieracosoph. cap. 9 *γάλα ὀνοθηλείας, ἔλαιον ῥόδινον*, which with the kind assistance of Nigel Wilson I have located in R. Hercher, Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 2 (Leipzig 1866) p. 524. 13 (§ 15). Add P. Vindob. G 23204 fr. A. 4 (VI; *Jahrb. d. österreichischen Byzantinistik* 33 (1983) 8), G 26018 (VII; ibid. p. 10, 4 n., now P. Rainer Cent. 12.20).

268 *Παβάρι*. This is a new name, i.e. not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. The form is possibly a short genitive, cf. 226 n.

ἀρδείας. The irrigation was presumably by sakiyeh, powered by the draught-animals. We should prefer *ἀρδ(είαν)* to *ἄρδε(υειν)* in XVI **1913** 3.

268–9 *τῆς γεουχικ(ῆς) αὐτουργί(ας) Ἔξω τῆς Πύλης*. We know a good deal about something called the *προάστιον Ἔξω τῆς Πύλης*, see LI **3640** 2 n., and especially G. Husson, *Rech. Pap.* 4 (1967) 192–6, *ead.*, OIKIA, 235–6. It was a palatial residence of the Apion family, presumably close outside one of the city gates of Oxyrhynchus, with associated vineyards, orchards and gardens. The word *αὐτουργία* implies that some land there was worked by employees rather than tenant farmers, which seems to be new information. On *αὐτουργία* in the Apion estates see Hardy, 117. However, **3805** 70 records a payment for hunting rights *δ(ιὰ) τῶν γεωργ(ῶν) Ἔξω τῆς Πύλ(ης)* and these were presumably tenant farmers.

270–4 This section is paralleled by **1911** 206–11.

270 The totals are correct, i.e. art. 291¼ choen. 1 (168), +art. 1, 196 (194), +48 (250) = art. 1, 535¼ choen. 1, and sol. 38 1/12 1/48 1/96 less car. 41¼ (168), +sol. 21 ⅛ 1/24 1/96 (194), +sol. 39 ½ 1/24 1/48 less car. 18 (220), +sol. 54 ½ less car. 229⅛ (250), +sol. 26 1/24 1/48 less car. 116 ¼ (274) = sol. 179 ½ ⅛ ⅛ less car. 405. These carats are converted into solidi and fractions at 24 car. per sol., i.e. 405/24 = 16 21/24 or 16 ⅞ 1/24, and then deducted, i.e. sol. 179 ½ ⅛ ⅛ minus sol. 16 ⅛ ⅛ 1/24 = sol. 163 1/12.

271 The excess expenditure, cf. 282–8 and n., from the account of the 13th indiction (AD 564/5) naturally cannot be checked from this account of the 14th indiction. It is stated at sol. 4 1/12 1/96 and added to the current total, i.e. 163 1/12, to make sol. 167 1/8 1/96.

καὶ (δην.μυρ.) ρ̣ας εἰς νο(μ.) **d**. These denarii come from col. ix, see 217, a subtotal, and 220, the column total. The subtotal and the column total appear at first sight to neglect the entry in 215 of den. myr. 600 expended on foodstuffs, but see 217 n., for a suggestion that the final total is correct.

The conversion of den. myr. 1,200 to sol. ¼ gives a value of den. myr. 4,800 for the solidus, see further 272 n.

272 The figures for receipts cannot be completely checked because of damage, especially to col. i, but the figures here are the same as those given at the end of the receipts section of the roll (141–2); see 141–2 n. for some difficulties which they raise. It is very striking that they are the same as those given in **1911** 207–8. (The ed. pr. gives *ραφλε* '∟ ', but the photographs leave no doubt that '∟ ' is wrong and that the papyrus has **d**, cf. **1911** 69.) This means that the Apion rent-roll for this section of their estates remained the same from AD 556/7 to AD 565/6, see introduction.

Here the last element of the receipts, den. myr. 2,800, is converted to sol. ⅔ 1/24 1/48 = 37/48, while the same sum in **1911** 208 is converted to sol. ⅔ 1/24 = 28/48. The photographs confirm this and the grand totals show a corresponding difference, here sol. 647 ⅜ 1/48, there sol. 647 ⅜. The theoretical value of the solidus in this context for AD 556/7 appears, therefore, to be den. myr. 5169.2304, and for AD 565/6 it appears to be den. myr. 4977.7776. However, it is obvious that the ancient clerks did not work with figures like this. In considering **1911** 208 along with XVIII **2195** 48, where den. myr. 3,000 = sol. 37/48, and 143–4, where den.

myr. 2,400 = sol. 28/48, L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *Currency*, 159 60, came to the conclusion that some unmentioned charge was included. All these cases represent occasions when the Apion estate accepted myriads of denarii, inconvenient for large transactions, and we may guess that their banker charged for changing this money into gold. In our case a clue has been given in 271, where den. myr. 1,200 of expenditure were converted to sol. ¼, giving a nice round and therefore plausible value for the solidus of den. myr. 4,800, see 271 n. If we use this value to reconvert the solidi, we reach these results:

3804 272	den. myr. 2,800 =	sol. 37/48 =	den. myr. 2,700:	charge? den. myr.	100
1911 208	2,800 =	28/48 =	2,600:		200
2195 48	3,000 =	37/48 =	2,700:		300
143–4	2,400 =	28/48 =	2,300:		100.

These figures look promising, but **2195** 48 presents an anomaly and an inconsistency within **2195** itself. When I consulted the papyrus I found that the reading was wrong. Instead of *νο(μ.) ∟ κδ΄ μη΄* read now *νο(μ.) ∟ ιβ̄ μῆ*, i.e. sol. ½ 1/12 1/48 = 28/48. The entry in the table should now run:

2195 48 den. myr. 3,000 = sol. 28/48 = den. myr. 2,900: charge? den. myr. 100.

This restores consistency inside **2195**, and allows us to suppose that in the year AD 556/7, represented in **1911**, the banker could charge den. myr. 200 for a transaction of this kind, while in AD 565/6 (**3804**) and in a later tenth indiction which was probably AD 576/7 (**2195**) the charge had been reduced to den. myr. 100. It is certain that **2195** is the latest of these documents because the banker, John, who appears in **2195** 147 also appears in I **144**, which has a date-clause of AD 580.

Fractions of a solidus would mostly have been paid in base metal coins, otherwise described in terms of myriads of denarii, since gold coins were minted only as solidus, sol. ½, sol. ⅓, and sol. ¼. The carat too, being a unit of weight equal to sol. 1/24, was only payable in bullion or in myriads of denarii, cf. L. C. West, A. C. Johnson, *Currency* 138–9.

A solidus of den. myr. 4,800 would be divided as follows:

sol. ⅔ =	den. myr. 3,200 (double *triens*)
sol. ⅓ =	1,600 (*triens*)
sol. ⅛ =	800
sol. 1⅓ =	400
sol. 1/24 =	200 (1 carat)
sol. 1/48 =	100
sol. 1/96 =	50
sol. ½ =	den. myr. 2,400 (half solidus)
sol. ¼ =	1,200
sol. ⅛ =	600

These calculations may be too simplistic, but it seems very attractive and plausible to accept them, with the corollary that the solidus was reckoned at den. myr. 4,800 in these contexts for a period of about twenty years.

273 *πλήρ(ης) ὁ σῖτος*. Here the receipts and expenditure balance exactly; in other cases there was a small surplus to be sold, cf. Hardy, 100. He concludes that the concern of the Apions was to have their income in cash rather than in kind.

λοιπά . . . νο(μ.) υπ ∟ ϙς΄, 'remainder . . . sol. 480 ⅜ 1/96'. The money surplus of the same area in AD 556/7 was sol. 503 ⅛ (**1911** 211). This fall of about sol. 22 in a small section of the estate over a nine-year period can be compared with the fall of the gross total income of the country properties of the Apion family in the Oxyrhynchite area over about forty years in the sixth century (*c.*AD 540–86) from sol. 20,010 to 18,512. It is at least in line with the view that the revenues were 'stagnating' or even 'on the downturn', see J. Gascou, *CE* 47 (1972) 243–8, esp. 248.

274 The column total is correct. Of course, it totals only the amounts in 251–69 and does not reflect the summaries in 270–3.

275 (*δν*), cf. 279. The symbol is basically L-shaped, cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, i 272. At the foot of the vertical stroke the pen was kept on the papyrus and moved diagonally upwards to the left for a short distance before beginning the horizontal, so making a small rightangled triangle outside the corner of the basic L shape.

Ἀναστάσιον τραπεζ(ίτην), cf. 279. J. Gascou, *CE* 47 (1972) 244 n. 3, gives a revised list of the estate bankers or cashiers, with references. For Anastasius he gives I **145** (AD 552), XVI **1970** (AD 554), **1914** (AD 557?), **1911** (AD 557). The present text is the latest referring to him and the latest date it gives is 30 Mesore, indiction 14, i.c. 23 August, AD 566, see 279.

276–80 The account of these various payments is mathematically correct. The steward collected sums in gold and other coin to the value of sol. 647 $\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{48}$ (272) and made disbursements to the value of sol. 167 $\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{12}\frac{1}{96}$ (271), and was obligated to pay to the estate the remainder, sol. 480 $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{96}$ (273). He discharged the obligation in three instalments:

Tybi	25 (20.1.566)	sol. 200 less car. 1,012 (car. 5.06 per sol.)
Pharmuthi	25 (20.4.566)	sol. 200 less car. 1,200 (car. 6 per sol.)
Mesore	30 (23.8.566)	sol. 230 less car. 1,375 $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$ (car. 5.9815217 per sol.)
Total		sol. 630 less car. 3,587 $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$ (= sol. 149 car. 11 $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$) = sol. 480 car. 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ = sol. 480 $\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{96}$.

There are different rates of deduction on payments made for similar purposes and in two cases the rates seem to involve difficult fractions. The situation is very similar in **1911** 211–17. All the payments are said to be 'with *rhope*', which is usually a charge of car. $\frac{1}{2}$ per sol. for weighing coins, see L. C. West, A. C. Johnson, *Currency*, 133, 141. This, however, does nothing to improve the symmetry of the figures. The pattern is very different from that of the carat deductions from the estate's disbursements, which are at various, always easily calculable, rates, and no higher than car. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per sol., see 258–62 n.

One guess at the explanation might be that payments into the estate account were carefully weighed and calculated, so that charges could be made for worn gold coins and possibly for payments in other coins, cf. 272 n. However, there is some resemblance here to the more complicated pattern of the receipts noted in the minus carats system on the back of this roll, for which see **3805** 7–8 n., where I offer another guess at a general explanation for the use of the minus carats system.

282–8 Apollos and Isaiah and partners left the Apion holding of Tarusebt and went away or up (read presumably *ἀπελθεῖν* or *ἀνελθεῖν*), perhaps into the Western Desert or just possibly to a monastery or a community of monastic cells called *Μέγα Ὄρος*, see H. Cadell, R. Rémondon, *REG* 80 (1967) 343–9. The effect of their departure was not known till after the closing of the account for the 14th indiction and it had to be reserved for the next indiction's account. Eight solidi are credited to them, which presumably means that that sum is written off as irrecoverable, and forwarded as expenditure to next year's account, cf. the entry in 271 *ἀπὸ πλεί(ονος) λόγ(ου)*.

It is not clear why the concession was intermittent, made, it appears, in the 10th indiction, not in the 11th and 12th, but resumed in the 13th and 14th. The grammar is not clear in 285. For the translation I have guessed that the clerk left something out, e.g. *καὶ ⟨διὰ τὸ⟩ μηκέτι ταῦτα συγχωρηθ(ῆναι)*, 'and (because?) these were no longer conceded'.

Apollos and Isaiah do not appear elsewhere in this roll, but they do appear in **1911** 146 *συνεχωρήθ(η) Ἀπολλῷ καὶ Ἡσαΐᾳ καὶ κοιν(ωνοῖς) ἀπὸ Ταρουσὲβ ὑπὲρ ἐδάφ(ους) Ἕρωτος καὶ Ἀμάτου ἀπὸ νο(μ.) ιγ νο(μ.) δ*. The concession of sol. 4 is the same, but the assessment for that year was sol. 13 rather than sol. 6 as here. Either the land was becoming less productive, or the extent had been reduced.

284 *ἐδαφ(ῶν)*. The ink is faint and rubbed here, but the text seems to have *εδαφφ/* = *ἐδαφῶν* plural.

3805. Estate Accounts

No inv. no. 288 × 30 cm AD 566 or later

These accounts occupy the back of **3804**, which is a formal fair copy of a steward's account of the finance of his area for the year AD 565/6. It no doubt formed part of the records of a central bureau in Oxyrhynchus from which the Apion estates in the nome were administered. When it was no longer needed as evidence, its blank back was used in the bureau to take these accounts, which are of a much less formal kind.

They record miscellaneous financial transactions relating to places in every part of the nome, that is, the place-names include some known from each of the six toparchies into which the nome was divided in earlier times. However, there are no column totals or final totals as in **3804**, col. ix degenerates into mere jottings, col. iv has been written upwards probably after cols. iii and v had been written in the normal way. Col. x, the final one, is also written upwards. Both these columns have calculations only; the transactions are not identified. There are numerous alterations throughout, including a few seeming mistakes. It is fairly clear that the document contains internal office memoranda, which were worked out or tried out on the blank paper of the back of **3804** before being transferred to fair copies elsewhere.

There are several items of individual interest: an emphyteutic lease (12), rent of a synagogue (56–7), a mule-cart used by the governor (82–4), scrap-metal sold perhaps to a cuirassier (111–12), to name only the most intriguing.

col. i

There are scattered remains of the ends of lines only, as follows:

		] νο(μ.)	δ κερ. ᵹ. ∟ d′	approx.	opp.	7th	line of ii, i.e.	13
		] νο(μ.)	α κ̣ερ. ..	,,	,,	10th	,,	16
	Ἀλε]ξ.	[νο(μ.)]	β κερ. ς ∟	,,	,,	13th	,,	19
	Ἀ]λεξ.	(vac.)	κερ. ..	,,	,,	15th	,,	21
5	Ἀ]λεξ.	(vac.)	κερ. [	,,	,,	17th	,,	23
	] Ἀλεξ.	(vac.)	κερ. [	,,	,,	19th	,,	25
	foot							

col. ii

7 δ(ιὰ) Ἐνὼχ ἀπ[ὸ] Τβὼ ὑ(πὲρ) ἐδάφ(ους) Ϲα.ρ.[..... ἰδ(ιωτικῷ) νο(μισμάτια) γ π(αρὰ κεράτια) ι]β εἰϲ δ[ημ(οσίῳ) νο(μισμάτια) γ π(αρὰ κεράτια) ι]η εἰϲ νο(μισματίου) ∟ d′ κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δ̣η̣μ(οσίῳ) νο(μισμάτια) β κερ(άτια) ᵹ καὶ

8 ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(πῆϲ) καὶ ἐγκρ(ιμέντου) οὐδὲν ἐξ ἔθ(ους) καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) [παραλλ(ηλισμοῦ) τοῦ δημ(οσίου) εἰϲ Ἀλ]ε̣ξ(ανδρείας), τοῦ γ[ο(μισματίου)] α κ̣[ϵ]ρ(ατίου) ᵹ′, κερ(ατίου) ∟

γί(νεται) Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νο(μ.) β κερ. ς ∟

7 δ/ = δ(ιά) throughout, υ/ = ὑ(πέρ) throughout, εδαφ/ = ἐδάφ(ους) throughout, ν̣ = νο(μισμάτιον) throughout, ∟ = (ἥμισυ) throughout, d′ = (τέταρτον) throughout, κ$^{\theta}$/ = κ(α)θ(αρά) throughout, κερ/ = κερ(άτιον) throughout 8 ρ^{ο}/ = ῥο(πή) throughout, ιγκρ/ = ἐγκρ(ιμέντου) throughout, εξε$^{\theta}$ = ἐξ ἔθ(ους), ϛ′ = (ἕκτον) throughout, γι′ = γί(νεται) throughout, αλεξ/ = Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας), sc. ζυγῷ, throughout

9 δ(ιὰ) Π̣ανεσνηοῦτος ἀπ̣ὸ [T]βὼ ὑ(πὲρ) ἐδάφ(ους) Γρηγορίου ἰδ(ιωτικῷ) νο(μ.) δ π(αρὰ κεράτια) ις εἰς δημ(οσίῳ) νο(μ.) δ π(αρὰ κερ.) κδ [ϵ]ι̣ς νο(μ.) α κ(α)θ(αρὰ)

10 δη(μ.) νο(μ.) γ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. οὐ̣δ̣ὲ̣ν̣ ἐξ̣ ἔθους καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ(ηλισμοῦ) τοῦ δημ(οσίου) εἰς Ἀλεξ., τοῦ νο(μ.) α κερ. ς′, κερ. ∟

γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νό(μ.) γ κερ. ∟

11 δ(ιὰ) Θεοδώρου ῥιπαρ(ίου) ὑ(πὲρ) παραμυθ(ίας)

Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) οβ

12 δ(ιὰ) τῶν κληρ(ονόμων) Ἰωάννου Τιμαγ̣έ̣ν̣ο̣υ̣ς ὑ(πὲρ) ἐμφυτίας

Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) πγ κερ. η

13 δ(ιὰ) τῶν κληρ(ονόμων) τοῦ τῆς ἐνδοξ(οτάτης) μνήμης Φοιβάμμωνος ὑ(πὲρ) ἐδάφ(ους) Ψᾶ ἰδ. νο(μ.) μ π(αρὰ κερ.) ρμδ εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) μ π(αρὰ κερ.) σκδ εἰς

14 νο(μ.) θ γ′ καθ̣α̣ρ̣(ὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) λ κερ. μ̣ς καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. οὐδὲν ἐξ ἔθους καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ., τοῦ

15 νο(μ.) α κερ. ς′, κερ. ϵ γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) λ κερ. κα

16 δ(ιὰ) Π̣αμουθίο̣υ̣ ἀπὸ Κισσῶνος ὑ(πὲρ) ἐδάφ(ους) Ζεύθου ἰδ. νο(μ.) β π(αρὰ κερ.) η εἰς

δημ. νο(μ.) β π(αρὰ κερ.) ιβ εἰς νο(μ.) ∟ κ(α)θ(αρὰ) ⟨δημ.⟩ νο(μ.) α κερ. ιβ

17 καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. οὐδὲν καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ δ̣η̣μ̣. εἰς Ἀλεξ., τοῦ νο(μ.) α κερ. ς′, κερ. d′

γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) α κερ. ιβ d′

18 δ(ιὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Ἐπισήμου ὑ(πὲρ) μετα[φ]ορ(ᾶς) ξηρ(οῦ) χόρτ(ου) ἰδ. νο(μ.) β π(αρὰ κερ.) η εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) β π(αρὰ κερ.) ιβ εἰς νο(μ.) ∟ κ(α)θ(αρὰ)

19 [δ]ημ. νο(μ.) α κερ. ιβ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥ̣[ο(π.)] καὶ ἰγκρ. οὐδὲν καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ., τοῦ νο(μ.) α κερ. ς′, κερ. d′

γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) α κερ. ιβ d′

20 δ(ιὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ Παλώσεως ὑ(πὲρ) μεταφορ(ᾶς) ξηρ(οῦ) χ[όρτ(ου)] ἰδ. νο(μ.) η π(αρὰ κερ.) λβ εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) η π(αρὰ κερ.) μη εἰς νο(μ.) β κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) ς καὶ

21 ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. ἐξ ἔθους οὐδὲν καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ., τοῦ νο(μ.) α κερ. ς′, κερ. α γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) ς κερ. α

22 δ(ιὰ) τῶν αὐ(τῶν) ἀπὸ Παλώσεως ὑ(πὲρ) τιμ(ῆς) ἀχύρου ἰδ. νο(μ.) α π(αρὰ κερ.) δ (vac.) εἰς (vac.) Ἀλεξ. (vac.) κερ. ιη

9 ιδ/ = ἰδ(ιωτικῷ), sc. ζυγῷ, throughout, π/ = π(αρὰ κεράτια) throughout, δημf = δημ(οσίῳ), sc. ζυγῷ, throughout (except where δη/ is noted) 10 δη/ (usually δημf), παραλλ/ = παραλλ(ηλισμοῦ) throughout 11 ριπαρ/, παραμυ$^{\theta}$ 12 κληρ/; l. ἐμφυτείας 13 κληρ/, ενδοξ/; φ of Φοιβ. corr. from υ/ = ὑ(πέρ) 14 καθαρ/; ι of ις corr. from ς 18 κωμf, μετα[φ]ορ/ξηρ/χορτ[f], cf. 24 20 μεταφορ/ξηρ/χ[ορτf], cf. 24 22 αυ$^{)}$, τιμf

23 δ(ιὰ) τῶν αὐ(τῶν) ἀπὸ Παλώσεως ὑ(πὲρ) ....θ( ) τοῦ μακ̣α̣ρ̣ίου Σχολαστικίου ἰδ. νο(μ.) α π(αρὰ κερ.) δ (vac.) εἰς (vac.) Ἀλεξ. (vac.) κερ. ιη

24 δ(ιὰ) τ̣ῶν ἀπὸ Ταρουθίφ̣ο̣υ̣ ὑ(πὲρ) μ̣ε̣τ̣α̣φορ(ᾶς) ξ̣η̣ρ̣(οῦ) χόρτ(ου) ἰδ. νο(μ.) ς π(αρὰ κερ.) κδ εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) ς π(αρὰ κερ.) λς κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ.

25 νο(μ.)] δ ∟ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥ̣ο(π.) κ̣α̣ὶ̣ ἰγκρ. οὐδὲν ἐξ ἔθους καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) {π̣α̣ρ̣} παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ., τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ νο(μ.) ⟨α⟩ κερ. ς′, κερ. ∟ d′

γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) δ κερ. ιβ ∟ d′

col. iii

26 δ(ιὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Σενοκόμ(εως) ὑ(πὲρ) τῶν χωμ(άτων) ἰδ. νο(μ.) ιθ π(αρὰ κερ.) πη εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) ιθ π(αρὰ κερ.) ρκς εἰς νο(μ.) ϵ κερ. ς

27 κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) ιγ κερ. ιη καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. οὐδὲν καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ., τοῦ νο(μ.) α κερ. ς′, κερ. β d′

γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) ιγ κερ. κ d′

28 δ(ιὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Ὤφεως ὑ(πὲρ) τῶν χωμ(άτων) ἰδ. νο(μ.) η π(αρὰ κερ.) η εἰ⟨ς⟩ δημ. νο(μ.) η π(αρὰ κερ.) κδ εἰς νο(μ.) α κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) ζ

29 καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. οὐδὲν ἐξ ἔθους καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ., τοῦ νο(μ.) α κερ. ς′, κερ. α d′

γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) ζ κερ. α d′

30 δ(ιὰ) Σερήνου ζυγ(οστάτου) ὑ(πὲρ) παραμυθ(ίας) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) ρ

31 δ(ιὰ) τῶν κωμ(ῶν) ὑ(πὲρ) μ̣ι̣σ̣θ̣(οῦ) τοῦ τρακτευτοῦ ἰδ. νο(μ.) κς π(αρὰ κερ.) ρδ εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) κς π(αρὰ κερ.) ρνς εἰς νο(μ.) ς κερ. ιβ

32 κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) ιθ κερ. ιβ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. οὐδὲν ἐξ ἔθους καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ., τοῦ

33 νο(μ.) α κερ. ς′, κερ. γ d′ γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) ιθ κερ. ιε d′

34 δ(ιὰ) τῶν αὐ(τῶν) κωμ(ῶν) ὑ(πὲρ) συνηθ(είας) τοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐπικ(ειμένου)

Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) κδ κερ. κγ

35 δ(ιὰ) Παπνουθίου ἐπικ(ειμένου) ὑ(πὲρ) πάκτου τοῦ ὅρμου Νήσου Λαχανίας

Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) ιε

36 δ(ιὰ) τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) ὑ̣π̣ὲ̣ρ̣ ἐ̣ν̣ο̣ι̣κ(ίου) τῆς ἀποστάς(εως) Νήσου Λαχανίας ἰδ. νο(μ.) ϵ π(αρὰ κερ.) κα ∟ d′ εἰς δη(μ.) νο(μ.) ϵ π(αρὰ κερ.) λα ∟ d′ εἰς νο(μ.) α κ̣ε̣ρ̣. ζ ∟ d′

23 αυ$^{)}$, ...$^{\theta}$ 24 μεταφορ/ξηρ/χορτf 26 κωμfσενοκομf, χωμf; l. Σενοκώμεως 28 κωμf, χωμf 30 ζυγf, παραμυ$^{\theta f}$ 31 κωμμf, μισ$^{\theta f}$ 34 αυ)κωμμf, συνη$^{\theta f}$, επικ′ 35 επικ′ 36 ενοικ′, αποσταςf, δη/ (usually δημf)

37 κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) γ κερ. ις d′ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. ἐξ ἔθους οὐδὲν καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ., το⟨ῦ⟩ νο(μ.) α κερ. ϛ′, κερ. ∟
γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) γ κερ. ις ∟ d′

38 δ(ιὰ) Ἐνὼχ ἀπὸ Φάκρα ὑ(πὲρ) τόκ̣ο̣υ̣ τῆς μηχ(ανῆς) τῆς ὑποτεθείσης π(αρὰ) τῆς κυρᾶς Καλῆς ἰδ. νο(μ.) γ π(αρὰ κερ.) ϛ εἰς

39 δημ. νο(μ.) γ π(αρὰ κερ.) ιβ κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δη(μ.) νο(μ.) β ∟ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. οὐδὲν ἐξ ἔθους καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ., τοῦ

40 νο(μ.) α κερ. ϛ′, κερ. ∟ γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) β κερ. ιβ ∟

41 δ(ιὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ Ὤφεως ὑ(πὲρ) τιμ(ῆς) ἀχύρου ἰδ. νο(μ.) γ π(αρὰ κερ.) ιβ εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) γ π(αρὰ κερ.) ιη κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) β d′

42 καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. οὐδὲν καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ., τοῦ νο(μ.) α κερ. ϛ′, κερ. ∟ γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) β κερ. ϛ ∟

43 δ(ιὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κτήμ(ατος) Λέοντος ὑ(πὲρ) τιμ(ῆς) ἀχύ̣ρου ἰδ. νο(μ.) α γ′ π(αρὰ κερ.) ε d′ εἰ⟨ς⟩ δημ. νο(μ.) α γ′ π(αρὰ κερ.) η ʽζ ∟ d′ ′ κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) α ϙ̣ϛ̣′

44 καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. οὐδὲν ἐξ ἔθου⟨ς⟩ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. Ἀλεξ., τοῦ νο(μ.) α κερ. ϛ′, κερ. οὐδέν γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) α κερ.⟦d′⟧ ∟

col. iv

(m. 2?) 45 + ὑ(πὲρ) ϛ̣ί̣(του) (ἀρταβῶν) αφ ⟦τοῦ ᾱ Ἀλεξ. (ἀρτ.) ι ̣⟧, τῶν (ἀρτ.) ι β̣ʃ̣ Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) α, ν⟨ο⟩(μ.) ρμ̣ β̣ʃ̣ ʽ∟ η′ εἰς (ἀρτ.) (vac.)
(vac.)

46 ϲί(του) (ἀρτ.) ͵αφ, τῶν (ἀρτ.) ι β̣ʃ̣ Ἀλεξ. ν̣ο̣(μ.) α̣, γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) ρμ ⟦∟̣ η̣⟧ κερ. ι̣ε̣

47 καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ἄλλ(ων) (ἀρτ.) φπϛ χο(ιν.) ε, τῶν (ἀρτ.) ι Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) α, Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) νη κερ. ιδ ∟ d′

48 γί(ν.) (ἀρτ.) ͵βπϛ χο(ιν.) ε εἰς Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) ρϙθ κερ. ⟦θ⟧ ʽε′ ∟ d′ ἀνθ' (ὧν) νο(μ.) ϲη κερ. ι̣δ̣ ∟

49 (vac.) λοι(π.) νο(μ.) θ̣ κερ. η ∟ d′ ἀνθ' (ὧν) νο(μ.) ͵βϲλη κερ. ζ.

38 μη^χ throughout, ̣ = (ἀρτάβη) throughout 39 δη/ (usually δημʃ) 41 τιμʃ 43 κτημʃ, τιμʃ 45 ϲι′ = ϲί(του) 47 αλλ′, χ̊ = χο(ινίκων) 48 χ̊, αν^θ 49 λοι/, αν^θ

col. v

(m. 1) 50 δ(ιὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κτήμ(ατος) Νέου ὑ(πὲρ) τιμ(ῆς) ἀχύρου ἰδ. νο(μ.) α π(αρὰ κερ.) δ (vac.) εἰς (vac.) Ἀλεξ. (vac.) κερ. ιη d′

51 δ(ιὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ ʽκώμ(ης)′ Πλεεῖν ὑ(πὲρ) τιμ(ῆς) ἀχύρου ἰδ. νο(μ.) α π(αρὰ κερ.) δ (vac.) εἰς (vac.) Ἀλεξ. (vac.) κερ. ιη d′

52 δ(ιὰ) τῶν ἑξῆς ἐγγεγραμμ(ένων) κωμ(ῶν) τε καὶ κτημ(άτων) ἰδ. νο(μ.) ξ ∟ π(αρὰ κερ.) ϲμγ ∟ εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) ξ ∟ π(αρὰ κερ.) ͵τξδ ∟ {εις}

53 εἰς νο(μ.) ι̣ε κερ. δ ∟ κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) με κερ. ζ ∟ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. οὐδὲν ἐξ ἔθους καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) π̣α̣ρ̣α̣λλ.

54 τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ., τοῦ νο(μ.) α κερ. ϛ′, κερ. ζ ∟ (vac.)
γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) με κερ. ιε

55 οὔ(τως) (vac.)

56 δ(ιὰ) Λ̣άζαρ Ἰουδαίου ὑ(πὲρ) ἐνοικίου τῆς συναγωγῆς δημ. νο(μ.) α κερ. d′ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. οὐδὲν ἐξ ἔθους καὶ ὑ(πὲρ)

57 παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ., τοῦ νο(μ.) α κερ. ϛ′, κερ. d′ (vac.) γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) α κερ. ∟

58 δ(ιὰ) τῶν μειζόν(ων) κώμ(ης) Τακόνα ὑ(πὲρ) καταστατικ(ῆς) (vac.)
Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) λϛ

59 δ(ιὰ) Βίκτορ[ο]ς ἀρχισυμμ(άχου) ὑ(πὲρ) τῆς ἀποδημίας τοῦ ἄρχο(ντος) ἰδ. νο(μ.) α π(αρὰ κερ.) δ ∟ (vac.) {ει} (vac.)
εἰς (vac.) Ἀλεξ. (vac.) κερ. ιζ ∟ d

60 δ(ιὰ) τῶν ϲιτο̣μ̣ετρῶν (vac.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) ιβ

61 δ(ιὰ) τῶν ἑξῆς ἐγγεγραμμ(ένων) κωμ(ῶν) ὑ(πὲρ) καταστατικῆς ἰδ. νο(μ.) τϙη π(αρὰ κερ.) ͵αφϙβ εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) τϙη π(αρὰ κερ.)

62 {κερ.} ͵βτ̣πη εἰς νο(μ.) ϙθ ∟ καθ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) ϲϙη κερ. ιβ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥ⟨ο⟩(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. οὐδὲν ἐξ ἔθους

63 καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ., ⟨τοῦ⟩ νο(μ.) ⟨α κερ.⟩ ϛ′, κερ. μθ ∟ d′ εἰς νο(μ.) β κερ. α ∟ d′ (vac.)
γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) τ κερ. ιγ ∟ d′

64 (vac.) οὔτ(ως) (vac.)

65 δ(ιὰ) Φοιβάμμωνος προ(νοητοῦ) Ἰβόϊτος ὑ(πὲρ) ὧν ἔϲχεν πλει(όνων) τῆς ἀντικαταλ(λαγῆς) μεταξὺ τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) οἴκου

50 κτημʃ, τιμʃ 51 κωμʃ, τιμʃ 52 εγγεγραμμʃκωμμʃ, κτημμʃ; ͵τξδ: ͵τ corr. from ϲ 55 ου 58 μειζονʃκωμʃ, καταστατικ/ 59 αρχισυμμʃ, αρχ̊ 61 εγγεγραμμʃκωμʃ 62 καθʃ 64 ουτ 65 πρ̊/ιβοιτος, πλεῖ, αντικαταλ/, ενδοξ/

66 καὶ τῆς ἁγ[ί](ας) ἐκκλης(ίας) (vac.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) α κερ. ις ∟

67 δ(ιὰ) τῶν μοναζ(όντων) τοῦ ἁγί(ου) Φοιβάμμωνος ἐν Θμοινακώμεως ὑ(πὲρ) τῆς Νήσου Ταπετρωνίου ἰδ. νο(μ.) ιδ ποταμοφορ{θʃ}ηθ(είσης?)

68 δ(ιὰ) τῶν κληρ(ονόμων) Ἰερημίου μείζ(ονος) Πακέρκυ ὑ(πὲρ) ἀποτάκτου ‘οἴνου’ ἰδ. νο(μ.) ιβ π(αρὰ κερ.) μη εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) ιβ π(αρὰ κερ.) οβ εἰς νο(μ.) γ

69 κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) θ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. οὐδὲν ‘ἐξ ἔθ(ους)’ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ., τοῦ νο(μ.) α κερ. ς′, κερ. α ∟
γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) θ κερ. α ∟

col. vi

70 δ(ιὰ) τῶν γεωργ(ῶν) Ἔξω τῆς Πύλ(ης) ὑ(πὲρ) τῆς ἄγρας Ἔξω τῆς Πύλ(ης) ἰδ. νο(μ.) β π(αρὰ κερ.) η εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) β π(αρὰ κερ.) ιβ

71 κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) α ∟ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. ἐξ ἔθους οὐδὲν καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ. κερ. d′
γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) α κερ. ιβ d′

72 δ(ιὰ) Ἀπολλῶ καὶ κοιν(ωνῶν) ἀπὸ Μικρ(ᾶς) Παρορίου ὑ(πὲρ) τῶν σπειρομ(ένων) π(αρὰ) αὐ(τῶν) γῃδίων ποτὲ τῶ(ν)

73 καστρισιαν(ῶν) τὰ πρώην διδομ(ένων) Ἰουλιανῷ στρ(ατη)λ(άτῃ) ἰδ. νο(μ.) κδ π(αρὰ κερ.) ρη εἰς δημ.

74 νο(μ.) κδ π(αρὰ κερ.) ρνς εἰς νο(μ.) ς ∟ κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) ιζ ∟ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. οὐδὲν ἐξ ἔθους

75 καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ., τοῦ νο(μ.) α κερ. ς′, κερ. γ (vac.)
γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) ιζ κερ. ιε

76 δ(ιὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ Νεκώνθεως ὑ(πὲρ) ἀποτάκτου χωρ(ίων) ἰδ. νο(μ.) λ π(αρὰ κερ.) ρκ εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) λ π(αρὰ κερ.) ρπ

77 εἰς νο(μ.) ζ ∟ καθ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) κβ ∟ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. ἐξ ἔθους οὐδὲν καὶ ⟨ὑ(πὲρ)⟩ παραλλ. τοῦ

78 δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ., τοῦ νο(μ.) α κερ. ς′, κερ. γ ∟ d′ (vac.)
γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) κβ κερ. ιε ∟ d′

66 αχ[ῖ]?, cf. 67, εκκλησʃ 67 μοναζζ/, αγῑ, ποταμοφορ{θʃ}ηθ( ): above rho first θʃ, uncorrected, and above that $\overset{\theta}{\eta}$ 68 κληρρ/, μειζ/. (μειζζ/ was written, cf. 67 μοναζζ/, then corrected by adding an oblique to the first zeta and writing πα over the final ζ/) 69 ‘εξεθ/’ 70 γεωργʃ, πυλ/ (*bis*) 72 κοινʃ, μικρ/, σπειρομʃπ/αῡ, τω¯ 73 καστρισιανʃταπρωηνδιδομʃ, στρ$^{\lambda}$/ 76 χωρ/ 77 καθʃ

79 δ(ιὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ Παλώσεως ὑ(πὲρ) τῶν πραγμ(άτων) Φοιβάμμωνος Παλωσιώτου ἰδ. νο(μ.) κα ∟ π(αρὰ κερ.) πς

80 εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) κα ∟ π(αρὰ κερ.) ρκθ εἰς ν⟨ο⟩(μ.) ε γ′ κδ′ καθ(αρὰ) ‘δημ.’ νο(μ.) ις η̄ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. οὐδὲν καὶ

81 ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ., τοῦ νο(μ.) α κερ. ς′, κερ. ‘γ’ ⟦β ∟ d′⟧ (vac.)
γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) ις κερ. ‘ς’ ⟦ε ∟ d′⟧

82 δ(ιὰ) τῶν κωμ(ῶν) ὑ(πὲρ) τῶν διδομ(ένων) π(αρὰ) αὐ(τῶν) ὑ(πὲρ) τιμ(ῆς) χόρτ(ου) τῶ(ν) μουλαρ(ίων) τοῦ ἀρχοντικοῦ ὀχήμα(τος)

83 ἰδ. νο(μ.) ε ∟ π(αρὰ κερ.) κδ ∟ d′ εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) ε ∟ π(αρὰ κερ.) λ‘ε’⟦δ⟧ ∟ d′ εἰς νο(μ.) α κερ. ια ∟ d′ καθ(αρὰ) νο(μ.) δ κερ. d′

84 καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. οὐδὲν ἐξ ἔθ(ους) καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ., τοῦ νο(μ.) α κερ. ς′, κερ. ∟ d′ (vac.) γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) δ κερ. α

85 δ(ιὰ) τοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν ⟨ ⟩ κώμ(ης) Ἐπισήμου ὑ(πὲρ) παραμυθ(ίας) (vac.)
Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) κ

86 δ(ιὰ) τοῦ προ(νοητοῦ) τοῦ κτήμ(ατος) Ματρέου ὑ(πὲρ) παραμυθ(ίας) (vac.)
Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) ιβ

col. vii

87 δ(ιὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ Ταρουσὲβτ καὶ Λουκίου τῶν κτημ(άτων) ὑ(πὲρ) ἀποτάκτου χωρ(ίων) ἰδ. νο(μ.) ιε π(αρὰ κερ.) οε εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) ιε π(αρὰ κερ.) ρε εἰς

88 νο(μ.) δ κερ. θ κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) ι κερ. ιε καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. ἐξ ἔθους οὐδὲν καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ. κερ. α ∟ d′
γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) ι κερ. ις ∟ d′

89 δ(ιὰ) Βάνους πωμαρ(ίτου) ὑ(πὲρ) φόρ(ου) τοῦ πωμαρ(ίου) τοῦ κτήμ(ατος) Νήσου Λευκαδίου ὑ(πὲρ) ἀρούρ(ης) ᾱ καλουμ(ένης) Καλλινίκου ἰδ. νο(μ.) β π(αρὰ κερ.) η εἰς

90 δημ. νο(μ.) β π(αρὰ κερ.) ιβ εἰς κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) α ∟ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. οὐδὲν καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ. κερ. d′
γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) α κερ. ιβ d′

⟦ζ+⟧ 91 δ(ιὰ) Παλεοῦτος μείζ(ονος) Χοινόθμεως ὑ(πὲρ) τῶν παλαι(ῶν) χωρ(ίων) Σέφθα ἰδ. νο(μ.) κ π(αρὰ κερ.) π εἰς δη(μ.) νο(μ.) κ π(αρὰ κερ.) ρκ εἰς νο(μ.) ε

79 πραγμʃ̄ 80 καθʃ 82 κωμμʃ, διδομμʃπ/αῡ, τιμʃχορτʃ, τω¯ μουλαρ/, οχημ$^{\alpha}$ʃ 83 κʃ = κ(ερ.), κα$^{\theta}$ 84 εξε$^{\theta}$ʃ 85 κωμʃ, παραμ$^{\theta}$υ 86 πρ°/, κτημʃ, παραμ$^{\theta}$υ 87 κτημμʃ, χωρ/ 89 πωμαρ/, φορ/, πωμαρ/, κτημʃ, αρουρ/, καλουμʃ 91 μειζ/, παλαι/χωρ/, δη/ (usually δημʃ)

92 καθ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) ιε καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. ἐξ ἔθους οὐδὲν καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. ⟨τοῦ δημ. εἰς⟩ Ἀλεξ., τοῦ νο(μ.) ⟨α⟩ κερ. ϛ′, κερ. β ∟
γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) ιε κερ. β ∟

93 δ(ιὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ Cπανίας ὑ(πὲρ) χωμ(άτων) ἰδ. νο(μ.) ι π(αρὰ κερ.) μ εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) ι π(αρὰ κερ.) ξ εἰς κ(α)θ(αρὰ) ⟨δημ.⟩ νο(μ.) ζ κερ. ιβ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. ἐξ ⟨ἔ⟩θ(ους)

94 οὐδὲν καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ. κερ. α d′ (vac.)
γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) ζ κερ. ι̣γ d′

95 δ(ιὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ Ταμπετὶ ὑ(πὲρ) λοι(πάδος) χρυ(σικῶν) τῶν χωμ(άτων) ἰδ. νο(μ.) η π(αρὰ κερ.) λγ ∟ εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) η π(αρὰ κερ.) μθ ∟ εἰς νο(μ.) β κδ μῆ

96 καθ(αρὰ) ⟨δημ.⟩ νο(μ.) ε ∟ γ′ ιβ μῆ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. οὐδὲν ἐξ ἔθους καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ., τοῦ νο(μ.) α κερ. ϛ′, κερ. ‵α̣′ ⟦α ∟ d′⟧
γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) ε κερ. κγ ∟

+ 97 δ(ιὰ) Κοσμᾶ προ(νοητοῦ) Κυ̣ριλλᾶ ὑ(πὲρ) τιμ(ῆς) κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρτ.) ‵ρνε χο(ιν.) η′ ⟦cϙε χο(ιν.) η⟧ τῶν (ἀρτ.) ιδ ἰδ. νο(μ.) α π(αρὰ κερ.) δ d′ γί(ν.) ἰδ. νο(μ.) ‵ια ιβ′ ⟦κβ βʃ κδ⟧ π(αρὰ κερ.) ‵μζ′ ⟦ϙϛ ∟ εἰς⟧

98 δ̣ημ. νο(μ.) ‵ια ιβ′ ⟦κβ βʃ⟧ π(αρὰ κερ.) ‵ξθ ḍ′′ ⟦ρμβ⟧ εἰς νο(μ.) ‵β ∟ γ′ κδ ⟦ϙϛ⟧′ ε ∟ γ′ ιβ καθ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) ‵⟦η ϛ′ μῆ ϙϛ′ ιβ μῆ ϙϛ⟧ νο(μ.) η ⟦ϛ′ μῆ ϙϛ′ κδ⟧ d′ κδ′ ⟦ϛ κερ. ιη⟧ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) ⟨καὶ⟩ ἰγκρ. ἐξ ἔθους οὐδὲν

99 καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ., τοῦ νο(μ.) α κερ. ϛ′, κερ. ⟦β ∟ d′⟧ α ∟ (vac.) γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) ‵η′
⟦ιϛ κερ. κα ∟ d′⟧ κερ. ϛ ∟ d′

100 δ(ιὰ) Μαρίνου ὀcπριγίτου (vac.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) οβ

++101 δ(ιὰ) τοῦ βοηθ(οῦ) Cπανίας (vac.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) μη

++102 ἀπὸ τιμ(ῆς) ἀκανθεῶν β πεcόν̣τ̣ων ἐν κτήμ(ατι) Παρθενιάδος καὶ πραθ(εισῶν) τοῖς τέκτοcι μηχανουργ(οῖς) ἰδ. νο(μ.) ‵α γ′ π(αρὰ κερ.) ϛ′ ⟦β π(αρὰ κερ. θ εἰς⟧

103 δημ. νο(μ.) β π(αρὰ κερ.) ‵..′ ⟦ιγ⟧ κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) α γ′ ⟦ι̣β⟧ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. ἐξ ἔθους οὐδὲν καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ. κερ. ‵οὐδὲν′ ⟦d′⟧ γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) α ⟦κερ. ια ∟ d′⟧ ια d′

92 καθʃ 93 χωμʃ, εξ^{θ} 95 λοι/χρυ/, χωμμʃ 96 καθʃ 97 πρ^{ϙ}, τιμʃκρι^{θ} ..., ιδ: δ corr. from γ 98 δημʃ: corr. from ι̣δ/?; ξθ d′: d′ corr. from ϛ′? 101 βοη^{θ} 102 τιμʃ; l. πεcουcῶν; κτημʃ, πρα^{θ}ʃ, μηχανουργʃ

col. viii

104 δ(ιὰ) τῶν χοιρεμπώλ(ων) ἰδ. νο(μ.) γ γ′ π(αρὰ κερ.) ιγ ∟ εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) γ γ′ π(αρὰ κερ.) κ⟦d′⟧ κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) β ‵∟′ ⟦γ η̄ μη̄ ϙϛ′⟧ καὶ

105 ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. ἐξ ἔθους οὐδὲν καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. Ἀλεξ. κερ. ∟ (vac.)
γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) β κερ. ⟦ιβ ∟̣⟧

++106 ἀπὸ τιμ(ῆς) ἄλλ(ων) ἀκανθ(εῶν) γ̄ πραθ(εισῶν) τοῖς τέκτ(οcι) μηχανουργ(οῖς) ἰδ. νο(μ.) β ⟦∟⟧ π(αρὰ κερ.) ‵θ′ ⟦ια d′⟧ εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) β ⟦∟⟧ π(αρὰ κερ.) ι‵γ′⟦ϛ d′⟧

107 κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) α ‵γ′ η̄′ ⟦βʃ η̄ μη̄ ϙϛ⟧ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. ἐξ ἔθους οὐδὲν καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. Ἀλεξ. κερ. d′
γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) α
⟦κερ. κ⟧ ‵ια d′′. (vac.) ∟ d′.

+ 108 δ(ιὰ) Ἀπολλῶ φ[ρο(ντιcτοῦ)] Ν̣ετνήου ὑ(πὲρ) ὧν ἔλαβ(εν) ἀπό τινος ἀπὸ Νεcμίμεως ἰδ. νο(μ.) β γ′ π(αρὰ κερ.) ιβ ∟

109 εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) β γ′ π(αρὰ κερ.) ιζ ⟦d′⟧ κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) α ∟ ‵η′ ⟦ιβ μη̄ ϙϛ⟧ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. ἐξ ἔθους οὐδὲν

110 καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραμυθ(ίας) τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ., τοῦ νο(μ.) α κερ. ϛ′, κερ. d′ (vac.)
γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) α κερ. ιε d′

+ 111 ὑ(πὲρ) τιμ(ῆς) παλαι(οῦ) βολοcτροφικ(οῦ) ταυ̣ρ(ικοῦ) πραθ(έντος) τινὶ κλιβ(αν-) ἰδ. νο(μ.) δ π(αρὰ κερ.) ‵ιη′ ⟦ιϛ⟧ εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) δ π(αρὰ κερ.) κ⟦δ⟧‵ϛ̣′

112 κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) ‵β ∟ γ′ ι̣β′ ⟦γ⟧ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. ἐξ ἔθους οὐδὲν καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τοῦ δημ. εἰς Ἀλεξ. κερ. ∟
γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) ‵β′ ⟦γ⟧ κερ.
‵κβ ∟′. {∟} κερ. β.

113 δ(ιὰ) Πανουφίου ἐργοδιώκτ(ου) κτήμ(ατος) Μεcκανούνεως προφάc(ει) ξύλ(ων) κλαπ(έντων)

114 ἰδ. νο(μ.) β π(αρὰ κερ.) θ εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) β π(αρὰ κερ.) ιγ κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) α γ′ η̄ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ. ἐξ ἔθ(ους)

115 οὐδὲν καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλλ. τοῦ δ̣η̣μ̣. ε̣ἰ̣ς̣ Ἀλεξ. κερ. d′ (vac.)
γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) α κερ. ια d′

104 l. χοιρεμπόρων 106 τιμʃαλλ/ακανθʃ γ̄ πρα^{θ}, τεκτʃμηχανουργʃ 108 φ[ρ^{ο}]/, ελαβʃ 110 παραμ^{θ}υ: l. παραλλ(ηλιcμοῦ) 111 τιμʃπαλαι/βολοcτροφικ/; l. βωλοcτροφικ(οῦ); ταυρ/πρα^{θ}, κλιβʃ 113 εργοδιωκτʃ, κτημʃ, προφαcʃξυλʃκλαπʃ 114 η̄ corr. from ιβ; εξε^{θ}

+ 116 ὑ̣(πὲρ) ναύλου τοῦ ἁλιευτι̣[κ]ο̣ῦ̣ δοθ(έντος) Θεοδώρῳ ῥιπαρ(ίῳ) ἰδ. νο(μ.) ϛ π(αρὰ κερ.) κδ εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) ϛ π(αρὰ κερ.) λϛ

117 κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) δ κερ. ιβ ⟦εἰς Ἀλεξ.⟧ (vac.)
Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) δ κερ. ιβ ∟ d′

118 δ(ιὰ) Ἀντιόχου ἐπικ(ειμένου) ὑ(πὲρ) τιμ(ῆς) ὀπτ(ῆς) πλίνθ(ου) πραθ(είσης) ἐκ τῆς κώμ(ης) Ἀδαίου ἰδ. νο(μ.) ε π(αρὰ κερ.) κβ ∟ εἰς

119 δημ. νο(μ.) ε π(αρὰ κερ.) λβ ∟ κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) γ ∟ η̄ μη̄ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγ(κρ.) οὐδὲν καὶ ὑ(πὲρ)

120 παραλλ. Ἀλεξ., τοῦ νο(μ.) α κερ. ϛ′, κερ. ∟ (vac.)
γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) γ κερ. ιϛ

121 δ(ιὰ) Θεοδώρου πραγμα(τευτοῦ) Cέφθα ὑ(πὲρ) ἐνο̣ικίου τῆς παλαι(ᾶς) χορτοθήκ(ης) ἐν κώμ(ῃ) Cέφθα (vac.)
Ἀλεξ. (vac.) κερ. ιη

col. ix

122 ὑ(πὲρ) α̣νκ̣.( ) γ̄ νο(μ.) γ ∟ ⟦π(αρὰ κερ.)⟧ π(αρὰ κερ.) ιδ εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) γ ∟ π(αρὰ) κερ.) κα

123 ⟦κ(α)θ(αρὰ) νο(μ.) β⟧ (vac.)
κ(α)θ(αρὰ) β κερ. ιε παρ(αλλ.) Ἀλ(εξ.) κερ. ∟

124 (vac.) γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) β κερ. ιε ∟

125 ὑ(πὲρ) ἄλλ(ων) β̄ ἀκανθ(εῶν) νο(μ.) β ∟ π(αρὰ κερ.) ι εἰς

126 δημ. β ∟ π(αρὰ κερ.) {ι}⟦δ ∟⟧ ιε

127 (vac.) νο(μ.) γ ∟ ⟦π(αρὰ κερ.) ιβ κ̣ `κ(α)θ(αρὰ)′ εἰς δημ.⟧ (vac.)
νο(μ.) β γ′ π(αρὰ κερ.) θ ∟ εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) β γ′

128 (vac.) π(αρὰ κερ.) ιδ d′ κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) α κερ. ιζ ∟ d′
παραλ(λ.) κερ. d′

129 νο(μ.) γ π(αρὰ κερ.) ιη (vac.) νο(μ.) β γ′ π(αρὰ κερ.)
ιδ ∟ d′

130 κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δη(μ.) νο(μ.) β κερ. ϛ (vac.) κ(α)θ(αρὰ)
δημ. νο(μ.) (vac.)

131 παραλ(λ.) Ἀλεξ. κερ. ∟ γί(ν.) {γί(ν.)} β κερ. ϛ ∟

116 ὑ̣(πέρ): corr. from δ(ιά)?, δο̣θ̣, ριπαρ/ 118 ἐπικ/τιμ̣ʃοπτʃπλιν̣θ̣πρα̣θ̣, κωμʃ 119 ιγ = ἰγ(κρ.)
121 πραγμ̣ᾶʃ, ενο̣ικ/, παλαι/χορτοθηκ/, κωμʃ 122 α̣νκ̣`.′/ 123 παρ/αλ/ 125 αλλ/ακανθ
128 παραλ̣/ 130 δη/: usually δημʃ 131 παραλ/

132 (vac.) γ̣ ιβ κ(α)θ(αρὰ) νο(μ.) β κερ. ϛ παρ(αλλ.) κερ. ∟

133 +νο(μ.) ἀλλ( ) νο(μ.) δ π(αρὰ κερ.) ιϛ

134 δημ. νο(μ.) δ π(αρὰ κερ.) κδ

135 κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) γ εἰς Ἀλεξ. γ κερ. ∟

136 νο(μ.) β π(αρὰ κερ.) θ ⟦κ(α)θ(αρά)⟧ εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) β
π(αρὰ κερ.) ιγ κ(α)θ(αρὰ) α κερ. ια

137 κ̣α̣ὶ̣ ὑ(πὲρ) παραλ̣(λ.) Ἀλεξ. ⟦ḍ.′⟧ κερ. d′ γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ.
νο(μ.) α κερ. ια d′

col. x

138 +cὺν ῥ(οπῇ) νο(μ.) cνβ ∟ γ′ ιβ ϙϛ π(αρὰ κερ.) ριβ d′

139 ἐκτ(ὸς) ῥ(οπῆς) νο(μ.) κβ ∟ γ′ μη̄ π(αρὰ κερ.) νη ∟

140 ἰδ. νο(μ.) α γ′ π̣(αρὰ κερ.) ϛ

141 εἰς Ἀλεξ. cνε κερ. β d′
(vac.)

142 +ἰδ. νο(μ.) coζ ιβ μη̄ ϙϛ π(αρὰ κερ.) ροϛ ∟ d′ εἰς δημ. νο(μ.) coζ ιβ μη̄ ϙϛ π(αρὰ κερ.) ψ⟦κθ̣⟧ `λ⟦...⟧′ εἰς νο(μ.) λ γ′ ιβ

143 κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.) cμϛ βʃ ϙϛ′ `βʃ⟦η̄⟧μη̄ ϙϛ′′ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ῥοπ(ῆς) τῶν νο(μ.) c⟦οζ⟧`νϛ′ ιβ μη̄ ϙϛ′, `τῶν ἄλλ(ων) κα μὴ δεχομένω(ν) ῥο(π.) καὶ ἰγκρ.′, το⟨ῦ⟩ νο(μ.) {νο(μ.)} α κερ. ∟, κερ. ρ⟦κη ∟⟧

144 καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ἰγκρ. αὐ(τῶν), τοῦ νο(μ.) α κερ. η̄, κερ. `λβ′ λδ ∟ ⟦d′⟧ γί(ν.) κερ. ρο⟦β d′⟧`. d′ γί(ν.) κερ. ρξ ∟ εἰς νο(μ.) ϛ̣ ⟨κερ.⟩ ιϛ ∟ ′εἰς νο(μ.) ζ κερ. ⟦δ ∟ d′⟧ ε d′

145 γί(ν.) δημ. cνγ `κερ. η d′′ κερ. ⟦κγ⟧ `⟦α⟧′ καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) πα⟨ρα⟩λλ. τοῦ δημ. ε̣ἰ̣ς Ἀλεξ. κερ. μ̣β ⟦d′⟧

146 εἰς νο(μ.) α κερ. ιη⟦d′⟧ γί(ν.) Ἀλεξ. νο(μ.) cνε κερ. `β d′′ ⟦ιζ d′⟧ `⟦ε̣⟧′ (m. 2) ὡς π̣λ̣ει(ον-) κερ. ιγ.

132 παρ/ 133 αλλ/ 137 παραλ̣/ 138 ρ/: usually ρ°/ 139 εκτρ/
143 ροπʃ, αλλ/, δεχομενῶ 144 αῦ 146 ωcπ̣λ̣εῖ

col. ii

7 8 'Through Enoch from Tbo, for ground of Sa . . .:

By private standard	sol. 3	−car. 12
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 3	−car. 18
(The carats convert) to	sol. ½ ¼	
Clear by public standard	sol. 2	+car. 6
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	nil, by custom	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. ½ per sol. 1		+car. ½
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 2	+car. 6 ½.'

9–10 'Through Panesnëus from Tbo, for ground of Gregory:

By private standard	sol. 4	−car. 16
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 4	−car. 24
(The carats convert) to	sol. 1	
Clear by public standard	sol. 3	
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	nil, by custom	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. ½ per sol. 1		+car. ½
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 3	+car. ½.'

11 'Through Theodorus *riparius*, for a premium:

By Alexandrian standard	sol. 72.'	

12 'Through the heirs of John son of Timagenes, for heritable leasehold:

By Alexandrian standard	sol. 83	+car. 8.'

13–15 'Through the heirs of Phoebammon of most glorious memory, for ground of Psa:

By private standard	sol. 40	−car. 144
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 40	−car. 224
(The carats convert) to	sol. 9 ⅓	
Clear by public standard	sol. 30	+car. 16
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	nil, by custom	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. ½ per sol. 1		+car. 5
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 30	+car. 21.'

16–17 'Through Pamuthius from Cissonos, for ground of Seuthes:

By private standard	sol. 2	−car. 8
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 2	−car. 12
(The carats convert) to	sol. ½	
Clear ⟨by public standard⟩	sol. 1	+car. 12
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	nil	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. ½ per sol. 1		+car. ½
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 1	+car. 12 ½.'

18–19 'Through the persons from the village of Episemu, for transport of dry fodder:

By private standard	sol. 2	−car. 8
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 2	−car. 12
(The carats convert) to	sol. ½	
Clear by public standard	sol. 1	+car. 12
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	nil	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. ½ per sol. 1		+car. ¼
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 1	+car. 12 ¼.'

20 1 'Through the persons from Palosis, for transport of dry fodder:

By private standard	sol. 8	−car. 32
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 8	−car. 48
(The carats convert) to	sol. 2	
Clear by public standard	sol. 6	
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	by custom, nil	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. ½ per sol. 1		+car. 1
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 6	+car. 1.'

22 'Through the same persons from Palosis, for price of chaff:

By private standard	sol. 1	−car. 4
(Converted) to, by Alexandrian standard		+car. 18.'

23 'Through the same persons from Palosis, for . . . of the late Scholasticius:

By private standard	sol. 1	−car. 4
(Converted) to, by Alexandrian standard		+car. 18.'

24–5 'Through the persons from Taruthinu, for transport of dry fodder:

By private standard	sol. 6	−car. 24
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 6	−car. 36
Clear by public standard	sol. 4 ½	
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	nil, by custom	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. ½ per sol. 1		+car. ½ ½
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 4	+car. 12 ½ ½.'

col. iii

26–7 'Through the persons from the village of Senocomis, for the dykes:

By private standard	sol. 19	−car. 88
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 19	−car. 126
(The carats convert) to	sol. 5	+car. 6
Clear by public standard	sol. 13	+car. 18
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	nil	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. ½ per sol. 1		+car. 2 ½
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 13	+car. 20 ½.'

28–9 'Through the persons from the village of Ophis, for the dykes:

By private standard	sol. 8	−car. 8
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 8	−car. 24
(The carats convert) to	sol. 1	
Clear by public standard	sol. 7	
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	nil, by custom	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. ½ per sol. 1		+car. 1 ½
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 7	+car. 1 ½

30 'Through Serenus, *zygostates*, for a premium:

By Alexandrian standard	sol. 100.'	

31–3 'Through the villages, for wages of the *tracteutes*:

By private standard	sol. 26	−car. 104
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 26	−car. 156
(The carats convert) to	sol. 6	+car. 12
Clear by public standard	sol. 19	+car. 12
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	nil, by custom	

And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. ⅛ per sol. 1 +car. 3 ¼
Total by Alexandrian standard sol. 19 +car. 15 ¼.'

34 'Through the same villages, for the customary payment to(?) the overseer for the time being:
By Alexandrian standard sol. 24 +car. 23.'

35 'Through Papnuthius overseer, for the concession of the harbour of Nesu Lachanias:
By Alexandrian standard sol. 15.'

36 7 'Through the same person, for rent of the warehouse of Nesu Lachanias:
By private standard sol. 5 −car. 21 ½ ¼
(Converted) to, by public standard sol. 5 −car. 31 ½ ¼
(The carats convert) to sol. 1 +car. 7 ½ ¼
Clear by public standard sol. 3 +car. 16 ¼
And for *rhope* and *incrementum* by custom, nil
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. ⅛ per sol. 1 +car. ½
Total by Alexandrian standard sol. 3 +car. 16 ½ ¼.'

38–40 'Through Enoch from Phacra, for interest on the irrigator mortgaged by the lady Cale:
By private standard sol. 3 −car. 6
(Converted) to, by public standard sol. 3 −car. 12
Clear by public standard sol. 2 ½
And for *rhope* and *incrementum* nil, by custom
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. ⅛ per sol. 1 +car. ½
Total by Alexandrian standard sol. 2 +car. 12 ½.'

41–2 'Through the persons from Ophis, for price of chaff:
By private standard sol. 3 −car. 12
(Converted) to, by public standard sol. 3 −car. 18
Clear by public standard sol. 2 ¼
And for *rhope* and *incrementum* nil
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. ⅛ per sol. 1 +car. ½
Total by Alexandrian standard sol. 2 +car. 6⅓.'

43–4 'Through the persons from the holding of Leontos, for price of chaff:
By private standard sol. 1 ½ −car. 5 ½
(Converted) to, by public standard sol. 1 ½ −car. 8/7 ¾
Clear by public standard sol. 1 1/96
And for *rhope* and *incrementum* nil, by custom
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. ⅛ per sol. 1 nil
Total by Alexandrian standard sol. 1 +car. [[¼]] ½.'

col. iv

45 (2nd hand?) 'For wheat art. 1,500 [[per sol. 1 by Alexandrian standard, art. 10 ⅜(?)]] at 10 ⅜ art. per sol. 1 by Alexandrian standard, sol. 140 ⅜ / ½ ⅛ to art. . . .'
(vac.)

46 'Wheat art. 1,500, at sol. 1 by Alexandrian standard for art. 10 ⅜, total by Alexandrian standard sol. 140 [[½ ⅛]] +car. 15.'

47 'And for another art. 586 choen. 5, at sol. 1 by Alexandrian standard for art. 10, sol. 58+car. 14 ½ ¼ by Alexandrian standard.'

48 'Total art. 2,086 choen. 5, making sol. 199+car. 5 ½ ¼ by Alexandrian standard, against which sol. 208+car. 14 ⅛,

49 'Remainder sol. 9+car. 8 ½ ⅛, against which sol. 2,238+car. 7.'

col. v

50 'Through the persons from the holding of Nëu, for price of chaff:
By private standard sol. 1 −car. 4
(Converted) to Alexandrian standard +car. 18 ¼.'

51 'Through the persons from the village of Plëein, for price of chaff:
By private standard sol. 1 −car. 4
(Converted) to Alexandrian standard +car. 18 ¼.'

52–4 'Through the villages and holdings listed below:
By private standard sol. 60 ½ −car. 243 ½
(Converted) to, by public standard sol. 60 ½ −car. 364 ½
(The carats convert) to sol. 15 +car. 4 ½
Clear by public standard sol. 45 +car. 7 ½
And for *rhope* and *incrementum* nil, by custom
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. ⅛ per sol. 1 +car. 7 ½
Total by Alexandrian standard sol. 45 +car. 15.'

55 'Thus:

56–7 'Through Lazar(?), Jew, for rent of the synagogue:
By public standard sol. 1 +car. ¼
And for *rhope* and *incrementum* nil, by custom
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. ⅛ per sol. 1 +car. ¼
Total by Alexandrian standard sol. 1 +car. ½.'

58 'Through the headmen of the village of Tacona, for *catastatice*:
By Alexandrian standard sol. 36.'

59 'Through Victor chief messenger, for the journey of the *praeses*:
By private standard sol. 1 −car. 4 ½
(Converted) to Alexandrian standard +car. 17 ½ ¼.'

60 'Through the grain-measurers:
By Alexandrian standard sol. 12.'

61–3 'Through the villages listed below, for *catastatice*:
By private standard sol. 398 −car. 1,592
(Converted) to, by public standard sol. 398 −car. 2,388
(The carats convert) to sol. 99 ½
Clear by public standard sol. 298 +car. 12
And for *rhope* and *incrementum* nil, by custom
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. ⅛ per sol. 1 +car. 49 ½ ¼
(The carats convert) to sol. 2 +car. 1 ½ ¼
Total by Alexandrian standard sol. 300 +car. 13 ½ ¼.'

64 'Thus:

65–6 'Through Phoebammon, steward of Iböis, for what he had in excess(?) of the exchange(?) between the glorious household and the holy church:
By Alexandrian standard sol. 1 +car. 16 ½.'

67 'Through the monks of St Phoebammon in Thmoenacomis, for (land in) Nesu Tapetroniu:
By private standard sol. 14.'
'Carried off by the river.'

68 9 'Through the heirs of Jeremiah headman of Pacercy, for fixed charge on wine:

By private standard	sol. 12	−car. 48
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 12	−car. 72
(The carats convert) to	sol. 3	
Clear by public standard	sol. 9	
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	nil, by custom	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. $\frac{1}{8}$ per sol. 1		+car. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 9	+car. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$.'

col. vi

70-1 'Through the tenant-farmers Outside the Gate, for the hunting Outside the Gate:

By private standard	sol. 2	−car. 8
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 2	−car. 12
Clear by public standard	sol. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	by custom, nil	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian		+car. $\frac{1}{4}$
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 1	+car. 12 $\frac{1}{4}$.'

72-5 'Through Apollos and partners from Micras Paroriu, for lands being sown by them once belonging to the *castrensiani*, given lately to Julianus *stratelates*:

By private standard	sol. 24	−car. 108
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 24	−car. 156
(The carats convert) to	sol. 6 $\frac{1}{8}$	
Clear by public standard	sol. 17 $\frac{1}{8}$	
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	nil, by custom	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. $\frac{1}{8}$ per sol. 1		+car. 3
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 17	+car. 15.'

76-8 'Through the persons from Neconthis, for fixed rent of lands:

By private standard	sol. 30	−car. 120
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 30	−car. 180
(The carats convert) to	sol. 7 $\frac{1}{8}$	
Clear by public standard	sol. 22 $\frac{1}{8}$	
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	by custom, nil	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. $\frac{1}{8}$ per sol. 1		+car. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 22	+car. 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$.'

79-81 'Through the persons from Palosis, for the belongings of Phoebammon inhabitant of Palosis:

By private standard	sol. 21 $\frac{1}{2}$	−car. 86
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 21 $\frac{1}{2}$	−car. 129
(The carats convert) to	sol. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{24}$	
Clear by public standard	sol. 16 $\frac{1}{8}$	
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	nil	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. $\frac{1}{8}$ per sol. 1		+car. 3
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 16	+car. 6.'

82-4 'Through the villages, for what is given by them for price of fodder for the mules of the praesidial conveyance:

By private standard	sol. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	−car. 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	−car. 35 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$
(The carats convert) to	sol. 1	+car. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$
Clear by public standard	sol. 4	+car. $\frac{1}{4}$
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	nil, by custom	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. $\frac{1}{8}$ per sol. 1		+car. $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 4	+car. 1.'

85 'Through the . . . for the time being of the village of Episemu, for a premium:
By Alexandrian standard sol. 20.'

86 'Through the steward of the holding of Matrëu, for a premium:
By Alexandrian standard sol. 12.'

col. vii

87-8 'Through the persons from the holdings of Tarusebt and Luciu, for fixed rent of lands:

By private standard	sol. 15	−car. 75
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 15	−car. 105
(The carats convert) to	sol. 4	+car. 9
Clear by public standard	sol. 10	+car. 15
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	by custom, nil	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian		+car. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 10	+car. 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$.'

89-90 'Through Banes fruit-grower, for rent of the orchard of the holding of Nesu Leucadiu, for one arura called Callinicu:

By private standard	sol. 2	−car. 8
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 2	−car. 12
Clear by public standard	sol. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	nil	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian		+car. $\frac{1}{4}$
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 1	+car. 12 $\frac{1}{4}$.'

91-2 'Through Palëus headman of Choenothmis, for the ancient lands of Sephtha:

By private standard	sol. 20	−car. 80
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 20	−car. 120
(The carats convert) to	sol. 5	
Clear by public standard	sol. 15	
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	by custom, nil	
And for conversion (of the public standard to) Alexandrian, at car. $\frac{1}{8}$ per sol. (1)		+car. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 15	+car. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$.'

93-4 'Through the persons from Spania, for dykes:

By private standard	sol. 10	−car. 40
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 10	−car. 60
(Converted) to clear (by public standard)	sol. 7	+car. 12
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	by custom, nil	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian		+car. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 7	+car. 13 $\frac{1}{4}$.'

95–6 'Through the persons from Tampeti, for arrears of payments in gold for the dykes:

By private standard	sol. 8	−car. 33 ½
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 8	−car. 49 ½
(The carats convert) to	sol. 2 ⅓ 1/24 1/48	
Clear (by public standard)	sol. 5 ½ 1/3 1/22 1/48	
And for *rhope and incrementum*	nil, by custom	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. ½ per sol. 1		+car. 1
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 5	+car. 23 ½.'

97 9 'Through Cosmas steward of Cyrilla, for price of barley art. 155 choen. 8, at art. 14 for, by private standard, sol. 1 less car. 4 ¼:

Total by private standard	sol. 11 1/13	−car. 47
By public standard	sol. 11 1/13	−car. 69 (4?)
(The carats convert) to	sol. 2 ½ ⅓ 1/24	
Clear by public standard	sol. 8 ¼ 1/24	
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	by custom, nil	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. ½ per sol. 1		+car. 1 ½
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 8	+car. 6 ½ ¼.'

100 'Through Marinus *osprigites*:
By Alexandrian standard sol. 72.'

101 'Through the *adiutor* of Spania:
By Alexandrian standard sol. 48.'

102–3 'From the price of two acacia trees which fell in the holding of Parthenias and were sold to the carpenters making irrigators:

By private standard	sol. 1 ⅛	−car. 6
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 2	−car. . . .
Clear by public standard	sol. 1 ⅓	
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	by custom, nil	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian		+car. nil
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 1	+car. 11 ¼.'

col. viii

104–5 'Through the pig-merchants:

By private standard	sol. 3 ⅓	−car. 13 ½
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 3 ⅓	−car. 20
Clear by public standard	sol. 2 ½	
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	by custom, nil	
And for conversion to Alexandrian standard		+car. ⅛
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 2	+car. 12 ⅛.'

106–7 'From the price of another three acacia trees sold to the carpenters making irrigators:

By private standard	sol. 2	−car. 9
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 2	−car. 13
Clear by public standard	sol. 1 ⅓ ⅛	
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	by custom, nil	
And for conversion to Alexandrian standard		+car. ¼
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 1	+car. 11 ¼.' '8 ⅓ ¼.'

108–9 'Through Apollos *phrontistes* of Netnĕu, for what he received from a person from Nesmimis:

By private standard	sol. 2 ⅓	−car. 12 ½
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 2 ⅛	−car. 17
Clear by public standard	sol. 1 ½ ⅛	

And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	by custom, nil	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian, at car. ½ per sol. 1		+car. ¼
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 1	+car. 15 ¼.'

111–12 'For the price of an old ox-plough sold to a certain *clibanarius*(?):

By private standard	sol. 4	−car. 18
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 4	−car. 26
Clear by public standard	sol. 2 ½ ⅓ 1/12	
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	by custom, nil	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian		+car. ⅛
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 2	+car. 22 ½.' 'car. 2.'

113–15 'Through Panuphius taskmaster of the holding of Mescanuneos by reason of stolen wood:

By private standard	sol. 2	−car. 9
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 2	−car. 13
Clear by public standard	sol. 1 ⅓ ⅛	
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	by custom, nil	
And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian		+car. ¼
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 1	+car. 11 ¼.'

116–17 'For hire of the fishing-boat given to Theodorus *riparius*:

By private standard	sol. 6	−car. 24
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 6	−car. 36
Clear by public standard	sol. 4	+car. 12
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 4	+car. 12 ½ ¼.'

118–20 'Through Antiochus overseer, for price of baked brick sold from the village of Adaeu:

By private standard	sol. 5	−car. 22 ½
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 5	−car. 32 ½
Clear by public standard	sol. 3 ½ ⅛ 1/48	
And for *rhope* and *incrementum*	nil	
And for conversion to Alexandrian standard, at car. ⅛ per sol. 1		+car. ⅛
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 3	+car. 16.'

121 'Through Theodorus agent(?) of Sephtha, for rent of the old hay-barn in the village of Sephtha:
By Alexandrian standard +car. 18.'

col. ix

122–4 'For three . . .:

(By private standard)	sol. 3 ½	−car. 14
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 3 ½	−car. 21
Clear by public standard	sol. 2	+car. 15
Conversion to Alexandrian standard		+car. ½
Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 2	+car. 15 ½.'

125–6 'For another two acacia trees:

(By private standard)	sol. 2 ⅓	−car. 10
(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 2 ½	−car. 15.'
	'sol. 3 ½.'	

127

127–8 '(By private standard) sol. 2 ⅓ −car. 9 ½
(Converted) to, by public standard sol. 2 ⅛ −car. 14 ¼
Clear by public standard sol. 1 +car. 17 ½ ¼
Conversion +car. ¼.'

129	'sol. 3	−car. 18	sol. 2 $\frac{1}{3}$	−car. 14 $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$.'
130–1	'Clear by public standard		sol. 2	+car. 6
	For conversion to Alexandrian standard			+car. $\frac{1}{2}$
	Total		sol. 2	+car. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$.'
130	'Clear by public standard		sol. (vac.)'	
132	'3 12(?)'			
	Clear (by public standard)		sol. 2	+car. 6
	For conversion (to Alexandrian standard)			+car. $\frac{1}{2}$.'
133–5	'Other(s?). (By private standard)		sol. 4	−car. 16
	By public standard		sol. 4	−car. 24
	Clear by public standard		sol. 3	
	(Converted) to, by Alexandrian standard		(sol.) 3	+car. $\frac{1}{2}$.'
136–7	'(By private standard)		sol. 2	−car. 9
	(Converted) to, by public standard		sol. 2	−car. 13
	Clear (by public standard)		sol. 1	+car. 11
	And for conversion to Alexandrian standard			+car. $\frac{1}{4}$
	Total by Alexandrian standard		sol. 1	+car. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$.'

col. x

138–41	'With *rhope*	sol. 252 $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{12}\frac{1}{96}$	−car. 112 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Free of *rhope*	sol. 22 $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{48}$	−car. 58 $\frac{1}{2}$
	By private standard	sol. 1 $\frac{1}{3}$	−car. 6
	(Converted) to, by Alexandrian standard	(sol.) 255	+car. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$.'
142	'By private standard	sol. 277 $\frac{1}{12}\frac{1}{48}\frac{1}{96}$	−car. 176 $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$
	(Converted) to, by public standard	sol. 277 $\frac{1}{12}\frac{1}{48}\frac{1}{96}$	−car. 730
	(The carats convert) to	sol. 30 $\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{12}$	
143	Clear by public standard	sol. 246 $\frac{2}{3}\frac{1}{96}$ (or $\frac{2}{3}$ ⟦$\frac{1}{8}$⟧ $\frac{1}{48}\frac{1}{96}$)	
	And for *rhope* of sol. 256 $\frac{1}{12}\frac{1}{48}\frac{1}{96}$, the other sol. 21 not being subject to *rhope* and *incrementum*, at car. $\frac{1}{8}$ per sol. 1		+car. 1 ⟦28 $\frac{1}{2}$⟧
144	And for *incrementum* of the same, at car. $\frac{1}{8}$ per sol. 1		+car. 32 (or 34 $\frac{1}{8}$ ⟦$\frac{1}{4}$⟧)
	Total		+car. 17 ⟦2 $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$⟧ 3 $\frac{1}{4}$?
	Total		+car. 160 $\frac{1}{2}$
	(The carats convert) to	sol. 6	+car. 16 $\frac{1}{2}$
	(The carats convert) to	sol. 7	+car. ⟦4 $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$⟧ 5 $\frac{1}{4}$
145	Total by public standard	sol. 253	+car. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ car. ⟦23⟧ ⟦1
	And for conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian		+car. 42 ⟦$\frac{1}{4}$⟧
146	(The carats convert) to	sol. 1	+car. 18 ⟦$\frac{1}{4}$⟧
	Total by Alexandrian standard	sol. 255	+car. ⟦17 $\frac{1}{4}$⟧ ⟦5⟧ 2 $\frac{1}{4}$
	(2nd hand) 'As excess (?): car. 13.'		

1–6 Since this account is written upside down in relation to the recto, the calculations which show that col. i of that document is the first, see **3804** 1–14 n., also show that not very much can be lost from the beginning of this one. However, there may have been more blank space available on this side, because the roll may have had a protocollon written in a large stylized script (cf. e.g. P. Cair. Masp. II Plates VIII, XXI, XXV, XXVI), the back of which would have been available. Col. i here, therefore, was not necessarily the first column on this side.

7–8 There are many entries below on the same pattern. The mathematical calculations are fairly

simple and well paralleled, but it remains unknown what precisely is meant when a payment is expressed in terms of solidi minus carats or described as being by private, or public, or Alexandrian, standard, see the discussion in L. C. West, A. C. Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* 140–56. It seems clear, however, that it is not a matter of coins of different weight, but only of accounting terms and charges, see further below.

The payment, a rent presumably, is expressed first as sol. 3 −car. 12, by private standard. (The solidus has twenty-four carats.) Private is converted to public standard by deducting a further two carats per solidus, see West, Johnson, *Currency*, 140. In this case, therefore, a further six carats are deducted, making sol. 3 −car. 18. The carats are converted to solidi and fractions of a solidus, for reasons which are not very clear since the next calculation tacitly converts them back again: i.e. car. 18 = sol. $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$ (except for $\frac{3}{8}$ all fractions must have a numerator of 1); sol. 3 −sol. $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$ = (sol. $2\frac{1}{4}$ =) sol. 2 +car. 6. It is stated that there are no charges for *rhope* and *incrementum*, see West, Johnson, *Currency*, 133, 141, (on *rhope*); 142, 145 (on *incrementum*). Public standard is converted to Alexandrian allegedly by adding car. $\frac{1}{4}$ per sol. 1, see West, Johnson, *Currency*, 144, but in fact the figures are rounded so that no fractions other than car. $\frac{1}{2}$ and car. $\frac{1}{4}$ can appear in the results. In this case the one third (two sixths) required for two solidi is rounded up to car. $\frac{1}{2}$, which is added to the preceding sol. 2 +car. 6 to give the final total 'by Alexandrian standard' of sol. 2 +car. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Throughout **3805** the total for each entry is presented as being 'by Alexandrian standard', having in most instances been converted from 'private standard' by way of 'public standard'. In **3804** the standard is evidently 'private standard' throughout, although the standards are mentioned in only one entry (150), where payment to shippers for freight on a grain cargo is given first 'by Alexandrian standard' at sol. 1 $\frac{27}{96}$ and then 'by private standard' at sol. 1 $\frac{27}{80}$, which is repeated as the total for the entry and used towards the column total in 169 (short by sol. $\frac{1}{96}$, according to my calculation, see 169 n.), and hence towards the sum total of expenses (270). By way of explanation one might guess that the *ναῦλον Ἀλεξανδρείας* had to arrive in state hands at Alexandria and that the state levied surcharges on the money it collected from the Apions, that is, that the Apions had to pay sol. 1 $\frac{27}{96}$ as the equivalent of a nominal demand for sol. 1 $\frac{27}{80}$. This shadowy beginning of an explanation may be applied also to the entries in **3805**, see below.

In **3804** receipts are expressed in solidi and fractions of the solidus, only expenses are recorded in the minus carats system. It seemed to make sense that the minus carats represented deductions made by the estate in favour of itself on most of its disbursements. There were at least seven rates, from car. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per sol. down to car. 1 per sol., see **3804** 258–62 n. In **3805** we again have many entries which make use of the minus carats system of notation. The nature of the transactions is obscured by the fact that all the entries are introduced by δ(ιά), whereas **3804** had π(αρά) for receipts and for expenses had the dative or ὑ(πὲρ) τι(μῆς), or the like. It could even be that we have both receipts and expenses in **3805**, but most entries are more easily interpreted as receipts, which makes it impossible to apply the same explanation of the minus carats system.

Moreover, the pattern of the rates is different from that in **3804**. For example, there are at least twelve different rates as against seven in **3804**. The commonest rate in **3804**, car. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per sol., is again well represented, but car. 4 per sol., which occurs only once in **3804**, is by far the commonest here. The list is as follows:

1. At car. 5·3571428 per sol.—rounding of 5 $\frac{1}{3}$?
   108–9 From a phrontistes, reason not clear
2. At car. 5 per sol.
   87–8 Communal rent on two holdings
3. At car. 4.6315789 per sol.—rounding of 4 $\frac{2}{3}$?
   26–7 For dykes
4. At car. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per sol.
   59 Messenger for journey of *praeses*
   72–5 Rent for land?
   82–4 For fodder for carriage mules of *praeses*
   102–3 Sale of wood
   106–7 Sale of wood
   111–12 Sale of old ox-plough
   113–15 Theft of wood? (Penalty?)
   118–20 Sale of baked brick

136 7 (Unspecified)
140 (Unspecified)
5. At car. 4.35 per sol.—rounding of 4 $\frac{3}{5}$?
36 7 Rent of a warehouse
6. At car. 4.2406015 per sol.—rounding of 4 $\frac{1}{4}$?
97 9 Sale of barley
7. At car. 4.1875 (= 4 $\frac{3}{16}$) per sol.—at car. 4, plus surcharge of car. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$?
95 6 Arrears of gold for dykes
8. At car. 4.0247933 per sol.—at car. 4, plus surcharge of car. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$?
52 4 From villages for . . .?
9. At car. 4 per sol.
7–8 Rent on land?
9–10 Rent on land?
16–17 Rent on land?
18–19 For transport of fodder
20–1 For transport of fodder
22 For price of chaff
23 Customary payment?
24–5 For transport of fodder
31–3 From villages for wages of *tracteutes*
41–2 For price of chaff
43–4 ,, (rounded)
50 ,,
51 ,,
61–3 For *catastatice* (unknown)
68–9 For fixed charge on wine?
70–1 For hunting
76–8 Communal rent
78–81 For belongings(?) of inhabitant of Palosis
89–90 Rent of orchard
91–2 Rent of land
93–4 For dykes
104–5 From pig merchants (4.05, but rounded?)
116–17 Hire of a fishing boat
122–4 (Sale of trees?)
125–6 Sale of trees
127–8 Unspecified (4.07142857, but rounded?)
133–5 Unspecified
10. At car. 3 $\frac{2}{3}$ per sol.—rounding of 3 $\frac{2}{3}$?
13–15 Rent on land?
11. At car. 2 per sol.
38–40 Interest on mortgage
12. At car. 1 per sol.
28–9 For dykes

In 138 minus car. 112 $\frac{1}{4}$ on sol. 252 $\frac{2}{3}$ represents the odd rate of car. 0.4438037. Since the sum is *σὺν ῥ(οπῇ)*, at first sight it looks as if this deduction might be for *ῥοπή*, a charge for weighing, which is conventionally car. $\frac{1}{2}$ per sol., see West, Johnson, op. cit. 133, 141. This cannot be right, because the sum following in 139 is *ἐκτ(ὸς) ῥ(οπῆς)* but has minus car. 48 $\frac{1}{3}$ on sol. 22 $\frac{2}{3}$, representing a rate of car. 2.5597082 per sol. This may be the total of individual payments carrying different rates, although the average would be low.

These last two are obviously out of the ordinary, but for the usual kind of individual entry listed above a sort of explanation, based on the shadowy explanation of **3804** 150 given above, might be hazarded. I guess that each entry records a sum of money which had, at least theoretically, to be delivered in Alexandria net of charges after being collected locally through the administration of the estate. The motives for the

payments were evidently very varied. In 7–8 the payment was on land, perhaps a rent, due in Alexandria as sol. 2 car. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. The local estate administrators collected sol. 3 from the tenant and entrusted them to the state or public banking system, very little understood, see Johnson, West, *Byzantine Egypt* 173–5. The banker credited car. 12 (car. 4 per sol.) to the local account of the estate for the estate's administrative purposes, and charged car. 6 (car. 2 per sol.) for transferring the remainder to an account in Alexandria, thus reducing the sum to sol. 2 car. 6 'clear by public standard'. However, the banker allowed a rebate of car. $\frac{1}{2}$ (car. $\frac{1}{6}$ per sol. = $\frac{1}{20}$, rounded up to $\frac{1}{2}$), which rebate was given, not to the local account, but to the Alexandrian account, so that the total 'by Alexandrian standard' was sol. 2 car. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. This explanation of 'conversion of the public standard to Alexandrian' as a rebate is perhaps supported by the use of *κουφίζ(εται)* in connection with another sort of 'conversion' (*παραλληλισμός*) in XVI **1916** 10, 35. West, Johnson, *Currency* 142 n. 4, say that the clerk 'was apparently bothered by the idea of subtracting from a minus quantity and did not realize that it was in fact an addition'. If I am right in suggesting that these sums were being credited to the landowners and not being paid out as taxes, then an addition to the sum credited is a 'lightening' of their expenses and may have been a rebate.

This hypothetical description is designed to make the notation of the accounts fit what we might expect of the working of the finances of the estate, which belonged to a family of magnates who were active in Constantinople and other places far from Oxyrhynchus. Locally the estate was in a dominant economic position, but most of the profits must have gone out either to the owners or to the state taxes. It could pay its bills at discounted rates to agricultural workers and rural tradesmen and noted the discount by the minus carats system. A proportion of the receipts went to pay the expenses of the local administrative machinery, expenses including the charges of the public bank, and these sums too were noted in the minus carats system. The remainder of the receipts was credited to an account or accounts in Alexandria, which the owners could use for their other purposes.

A dozen entries fall outside this framework, because the sums are expressed directly 'by Alexandrian standard':

11	For *παραμυθία*, through a *riparius*	sol. 72
12	For hereditary lease (*ἐμφυτεία*), through the heirs of John son of Timagenes	sol. 83 car. 8
30	For *παραμυθία*, through a *zygostates*	sol. 100
34	For *συνήθεια* of an *ἐπικείμενος*, through villages	sol. 24 car. 23
35	For contract (*πάκτον*) for a harbour, through an *ἐπικείμενος*	sol. 15
58	For *catastatice* (unknown), through headmen of a village, Tacona	sol. 36
60	Through grain measurers	sol. 12
85	For *παραμυθία*, through an unspecified village official	sol. 20
86	For *παραμυθία*, through an area steward	sol. 12
100	Through an *osprigites*	sol. 72
101	Through a *βοηθός*, associated with the village of Spania	sol. 48
121	For rent of an old haybarn, through a *πραγμα(τευτής)*	sol. 18

A common thread is discernible: these clients are not the usual small tenant farmers or tradesmen. Most of them hold administrative posts of some kind; the substantial sum of sol. 83 car. 8 'for hereditary lease' (12) implies tenants of above average wealth. The payment through the headmen of a village for the unknown *catastatice* (58) is the most puzzling one, especially by contrast with 61–3, payment for the same through several unnamed villages, which goes through the usual conversions. It looks, however, as if these payments were to arrive in Alexandria free of deductions and as if this was a privilege for these clients, who dealt more directly with the landowners, without paying tribute to the estate's local administrative machine.

This group of payments made directly by Alexandrian standard is interesting also for the illustration it gives of the estate's relations with holders of public appointments. The *riparius* and the *zygostates* in making payments for *παραμυθία* seem to stand in the same relation to it as the area steward, and we can see that his *παραμυθία* of sol. 12 probably reflects a clause in his contract, see I **136** 29–31. Compare too XIX **2239**, a work contract between a large landowner, not an Apion, and an *ἐπικείμενος*, who paid sol. 30 by Alexandrian standard as an entrance-fee (*λόγῳ εἰςβατικοῦ*), which seems to be the same sort of payment as the steward's *παραμυθία*, see **2239** 21 n. J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 1–90, has argued that the landowners were agents of the state in making such appointments and that it is not correct to describe the holders as

a 'private' *riparius* (ibid. 5 6, 43, 45–6, 61 and n. 339) or as the *zygostates* of a particular person, even though this is actually done in XXXVI **2780** 22: *ζυγοστάτου αὐτῆς = ζ. Φλαυΐας Γαβριηλίας* (ibid. 56).

11 *Θεοδώρου ῥιπαρ(ίου)*. Cf. 116. The same combination of name and title occurs in VIII **1147** 10, but the name is too common for identity to be probable. On 'private' *riparii* see above 7–8 n. *ad fin.*

παραμυθ(ίας). This is possibly a premium paid on entry to office as *riparius*, cf. I **136** 29–31, on a premium of sol. 12 paid for the office of *προνοητής*, with line 86 below and above 7–8 n. *ad. fin.*

12 *ἐμφυτίας*; l. *ἐμφυτείας*. Imperial land was frequently managed under this system of perpetual heritable leases, see A. H. M. Jones, *LRE*, i 417–20, D. Simon, 'Das frühbyzantinische Emphyteusrecht', *Symposion 1977* (Vorträge z. gr. und. hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte (Chantilly 1–4 Juni 1977), eds. J. Modrzejewski, D. Liebs), 365–422. Possibly the Apion family was tenant-in-chief in this case and put the land out on lease to sub-tenants, cf. Simon, op. cit., 419–21 on the tendency for emphyteutic leases of imperial land to be held by great landowners. However, in the late fifth century the system began to be applied in private leases, see Simon, op. cit., 421–2, so that here we may have a private emphyteutic lease by the Apion estate to John son of Timagenes, which is what it appears to be at first sight. Not much is known about such leases between private persons, see A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*, 73–4, P. Cair. Masp. III 67298–9, P. Michael. 41.3; cf. **3803** 10 n. If sol. 83 car. 8 represents an annual rent, the land must have been extensive, cf. above 7–8 n.

13 *τοῦ τῆς ἐνδοξ(οτάτης) μνήμης Φοιβάμμωνος*: unidentified.

ἐδάφ(ους) Ψᾶ: unidentified.

16 *Κιεσῶνος*. Cf. **3804** 48 n.

22–3 The calculations have not been written out fully: subtract car. 2 to get public standard, i.e. sol. 1 −car. 6 = car. 18, from which nothing is deducted for conversion to Alexandrian standard at car. $\frac{1}{6}$ per sol. 1, because the result, car. $\frac{1}{3}$, is too small to be rounded up to car. $\frac{1}{2}$, the minimum fraction to be taken into account, cf. 7–8 n. However, in 50–1 the clerk has taken the opposite view and rounded up to car. $18\frac{1}{4}$.

23 The damaged word might be *συνηθ(είας)*, cf. 34 and n.

Σχολαστικίου. Cf. **3804** 235 n.

24–5 In this entry the usual passage about the conversion of carats (car. 36 = sol. $1\frac{1}{2}$) has been omitted.

30 *ζυγ(οστάτου)*. Cf. A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* i 445, ii 1185 n. 84; J. Bingen, M. Hombert, *CE* 45 (1970) 151; above 7–8 n. *ad fin.*

παραμυθ(ίας). Cf. 11 n.

31 For *κωμ(ῶν)* rather than *κωμ(ητῶν)*, *κωμ(αρχῶν)* etc., cf. 52 and n.

τρακτευτοῦ. Cf. A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* i 450–1, ii 1188 n. 98. He was a tax-collector, a representative ultimately of the praetorian prefect. This payment, therefore, shows the Apions acting in some sense for the state, cf. J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 60, **3804** 30 n.

34 Is the payment customarily made for the benefit of the overseer, but into the estate funds in the first instance, or is he supposed to pay it, but actually gets the money from the villages? A contract of an *ἐπικείμενος* of the general sort, see 35 n., XIX **2239**, refers to *πάσας τὰς συνηθείας ἃς εἴωθεν λαβεῖν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπικείμε(νος) κατὰ τὸ ἔθος παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν εἴτε ἐν σίτῳ καὶ ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις εἴδεσιν* (18–20). These seem to be perquisites of the *ἐπικείμενος*. Could it be that the post was at this moment unfilled and that the villagers had to pay their customary dues into the estate funds for that reason? Cf. 23 n.

35 There seem to be at least two sorts of *ἐπικείμενος*, one sort employed by an estate to act as a general supervisor of various agricultural activities and equipment, see especially XIX **2239**, and another sort appointed as a foreman with charge of some particular job. The one in line 34 looks like the first sort; this one looks like the second. He was apparently in charge of a harbour at Nesu Lachanias, cf. P. Herm. Rees 69 (AD 410).4 *ἐπικειμένῳ τῇ κρηπῖδι περὶ Κλεοπάτρας*. There *κρηπίς* means a riverside wharf. The parallel is not exact, because the person in P. Herm. Rees 69 is a Flavius and an ex-*defensor* and his position may be a public one. Here it seems that the *ἐπικείμενος* holds a contract (*πάκτον = pactum*), presumably from the Apion estate. Compare the *νοτάριος καὶ ἐπικείμενος τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ* (sc. *γεουχικοῦ*) *κατωτίου* **3804** 230, 255. The job is often defined, e.g. *ἐ. τοῦ τελωνίου* (SB V 7520.17), *ἐ. τῷ λιμίτῳ* (SB V 7800.2–3), *ἐ. τῷ κτισθέντι τετραπύλῳ* (SB V 8699.10). In XVIII **2205** 3, 10 read *χωματεπικτ( )* i.e. *χωματεπείκτου* for both *χωμάτ(ων) ἐπικ(ειμένου)* and *χωμάτ(ων) ἐπικειμ(ένου)*. In XVI **1836** 6 and **2051** 45 for *ἐπίκ(τῃ) = ἐπείκτῃ* expand *ἐπικ(ειμένῳ)*. Uncompounded *ἐπείκτης* is at present confined to a period *c.*AD 250–338, see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt*, 26.

Νήσου Λαχανίας. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 120, citing especially P. Amh. II 149.5–6, where it is said to lie *πέραν τῆς Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) πόλεως*, which probably means that it lay just east of Oxyrhynchus on the opposite bank of the Bahr Yusuf.

38 *κυρᾶς = κυρίας*. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 302. There was a lady called *Καλή* in the Arsinoite branch of the Apion family in AD 584, see CPR X 127.5 *καὶ κυρᾷ Καλῇ*—as suggested in the note, for the *Ἱερακάλῃ* of the text—*τῇ καὶ Πουλχερίᾳ ἐκ πατρὸς Στρατηγίου κτλ*. The name is not particularly distinctive, even with the addition of *κυρᾶ*, cf. P. Ross. Georg. V 11.4, SB I 4661.7, 8, 17, but the style of the reference to her shows that this lady was socially superior, and she may have been a member of the Apion family.

43–4 The clerk has hesitated over the calculations. The deduction to convert private standard to public is car. $(2 \times 1\frac{1}{8} =)\ 2\frac{2}{8}$; this, deducted from sol. $1\frac{1}{8}$ −car. $5\frac{1}{4}$, gives sol. $1\frac{1}{8}$ −car. $7\frac{1}{18}$. The clerk has first rounded up to car. 8 and subsequently rounded down to car. $7\frac{3}{4}$ without having cancelled his first thought. Since there are twenty-four carats to the solidus, sol. $1\frac{1}{8}$ = sol. 1 car. 8. The deduction of car. $7\frac{3}{4}$ gives sol. 1 car. $\frac{1}{4}$. Car. $\frac{1}{4}$ = sol. $\frac{1}{96}$. The deduction for conversion of public to Alexandrian standard should be car. $\frac{1}{6}$, which is neglected as usual. The correct total, sol. 1 car. $\frac{1}{4}$, was written, but in the end the clerk rounded car. $\frac{1}{4}$ up to car. $\frac{1}{2}$. It is not clear why, since quarter carats are admitted in the totals of other entries, e.g. 17, 19, 33, 37.

45–9 These lines, constituting col. iv, have been written in the space between cols. iii and v, which were probably written first, although this means that a wider gap than usual had been left between cols. ii and v. If iv had been there first, however, it would have been very difficult to plan the layout of the normal columns, which are over 30 cm wide. As in col. x, the lines run upwards along the fibres of the verso, rather than across the fibres as in cols. i–iii and v–ix.

45–6 Line 45 contains a botched attempt at the calculation which appears correctly in 46.

47 There are forty choenices to the artaba. The result has been rounded up very slightly, i.e. $586\frac{1}{8} \div 10 = 58\frac{23}{80}$ (or $\frac{2344}{1440}$), whereas sol. 58 car. $14\frac{3}{4}$ = sol. $58\frac{23}{96}$ (or $\frac{2355}{1440}$).

48–9 The totals of artabas and solidi are correct, but it is not clear what *ἀνθ' (ὧν)* means in this context or where the extraneous figures which follow it came from.

50–1 Cf. 22–3 n.

52 *ἐξῆς ἐγγεγραμμ(ένων)*. No list of villages and holdings follows, cf. 55 n., 61. Presumably the phrase has been taken over from a record in which the names did appear. The same is probably true of the entry in 31.

55 *οὔ(τως)*. The list of places should follow, cf. 52 n., 64.

56 *Λάζαρ*. The initial letter seems to have been written over an unfinished zeta, an understandable mistake. There is no sign of abbreviation. The form of the name seems to be new, though *Λάζαρος* is fairly common. Another possible way of taking it would be to suppose that the zeta is crossed out rather than altered to lambda, i.e. ⟦ζ⟧ *Ἀζαρ*, or even *Ἀζαρ⟨ίου⟩ Ἰουδαίου* by haplography.

It seems reasonable to guess that 'the synagogue' is one in or near Oxyrhynchus, since no locality is specified. It is also worth noting that *συναγωγή* here obviously means the building itself, since it has been said that in Egypt *προσευχή* refers to the building and *συναγωγή* to the community of Jews, see CPJ III 473 (= IX **1205**).7 n., but see E. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People* (revised English edn., 1979) ii 439–40. On Jews in the Byzantine period see A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* ii, 945 50. I have not found another reference to a synagogue for rent. The normal thing was for the community of Jews to build one for its own use.

58 *μειζόν(ων)*. Cf. P. Mich. XIV 683.1 n.

καταστατικ(ῆς). See 61 for the ending. *Catastatice* appears to be completely new. We might guess that it is a premium paid for the appointment (*κατάστασις*) of the *μείζονες*, but this is far from certain and looks less attractive for 61, where the payments are made by the villages, and no office is mentioned.

59 *ἀρχισυμμ(άχου)*. On *σύμμαχοι* see A. Jördens, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 105–16, P. Cair. Isid. 80 introd., 4 n., 9, Hardy 111, cf. 73 n. 1. This payment could be taken to imply that he was the employee of the Apion estate rather than of the government or city, but note the views of J. Gascou (**3804** 30 n.).

ἄρχο(ντος). This is presumably the *praeses* of Arcadia. According to Georgius Cyprius, *Descriptio Orbis Romani* (ed. H. Gelzer, Bibl. Teubn.) 745, Oxyrhynchus was the metropolis of the province. Probably, therefore, it was the main residence of the *praeses*. It is not at all clear why the *ἀρχισύμμαχος* paid car. $17\frac{3}{4}$ to the Apion estate in respect of the journey (absence) of the *praeses*. Cf. 82 n.

60 *σιτομετρῶν*. Cf. G. Rouillard, *L'Administration* 132–4; A. Calderini, *ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΙ* (Studi della Scuola Papirologica di Milano IV No. 3) 88–90, who emphasizes that they usually appear in a metropolis, not in

the countryside; P. Berl. Borkowski xiii 27 n., on three (or four) *sitometrae* owning houses not far apart in Panopolis. The most informative document is SB I 5273 = SPP XX 128 (AD 487), a deed of surety for a *sitometres* from Arsinoe, who had undertaken to receive grain, especially grain taxes, in a village. The document is addressed to a *πρωτεύων* (cf. Pap. Ludg. Bat. XIII 13.1 n.) of Arsinoe, which implies that the post of *sitometres* was at that time a public service imposed on metropolitans and in this instance at least carried out in a village. BGU III 838.15, 30 (AD 578) refers to a guild (*ἐργασία*) of *sitometrae*. The payment here may imply that these ones were appointed through the Apion estate, cf. 7–8 n. *ad fin.*

61 Cf. 52 n., 58 n.

63 The conversion charge of car. $\frac{1}{8}$ per sol. 1 on sol. 298 works out exactly at car. 49 $\frac{3}{8}$, which has been rounded up to car. 49 $\frac{3}{4}$.

64 Cf. 55 n.

65 *Ἰβοῖτος*: known only from XVI **2032** 36 (*Ἰβοεῖτος*), cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 67.

65–6 *πλει(όνων) τῆς ἀντικαταλ(λαγῆς)*. Cf. P. Flor. I 47 = M. *Chr.* 146(+SB I 5671), where in an exchange of accommodation one party receives an *ἐκλογή* (14) of two hundred drachmas, representing the difference between the values of the properties; P. Wisc. I 15, where the money payment is *πλείω συντειμήσεως* (10, as corrected by D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 1 (1967) 151), 'in excess of valuation', that is, representing the difference between the values of the exchanged donkeys. P. J. Sijpesteijn gives more bibliography in P. Wisc. I p. 61, to which add P. Mich. XI 612, which also mentions an exchange of property with a church. The references to *ἀντικαταλλαγή* in XVI **1917** 48, 50, 90, XIX **2243**(a) 82, obviously involve the Apion estate, but are too brief to be helpful. Here the church exchanges properties with the Apion estate and pays it an excess through the steward of the area. The church was not necessarily in or near Ibois, although one of the exchanged properties evidently was.

67 The monks of St Phoebammon are new, though the martyr saint himself was popular, see H. Delehaye, *Les martyrs d'Egypte* 33, 100, 104, 105, 108, 113. Monks of St Phoebammon were supposed to appear in P. Cair. Masp. III 67299.51, see P. Barison, *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 88–9, but the text has been corrected (BL III 36). However, cf. Barison, ibid. 117 (no. 40), a church(?) in Aphrodito; 129–31, a monastery near Memnoneia.

Thmoenacomis appears here in full for the first time, but cf. *Θμ[οινακωμ( ), Θμοινακωμ( )*, in XLII **3047** 4, 44 (AD 245).

Nesu Tapetroniu is unknown, i.e. not in P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*. The second element is compounded of the Latin name Petronius and the Egyptian feminine article, but no personal name such as *Ταπετρώνιον* is attested. A place-name *Πετρωνίου* is attested, see Pruneti, op. cit. 150.

ποταμοφορ{θ[}ηθ(είσης?). From the layout of the papyrus it is clear that this misspelled note gives the reason for non-payment. The sol. 14 do not appear in the position at the extreme right which final figures occupy in this account, and the conversion of them from private to Alexandrian standard has not been calculated.

68 *Πακέρκυ*. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 131–3. There were at least two places called *Πακέρκη*. The spelling *Πακέρκυ* appears also in XVI **1839** 6, **2034** 14, and XVIII **2207** 18.

70 Cf. **3804** 268–9 n. The hunting seems to be a new detail.

73 *καστρισιαν(ῶν)*, i.e. *castrensiani*, cf. J. Maspero, *L'Organisation militaire*, 60–1. A *κάστρον Ψώβθεως* is mentioned in XVI **1883** 2 (AD 504), **2004** 1 (V), and **3793** 9 (AD 340), cf. CPR V 13.3 n. (and *ZPE* 56 (1984) 81, i 3 n.). They may be soldiers attached to that fort, wherever it was, cf. **3793** 9 n.

στρ(ατη)λ(άτη). Cf. J. Maspero, *L'Organisation militaire*, 88–99. He could have been commander of the same camp, but need not have been.

75 The charge for conversion from public standard to Alexandrian, car. $(17\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{8} =)\ 2\frac{1}{16}$, has been rounded up to car. 3.

76 *ἀποτάκτου χωρ(ίων)*. Cf. **3804** 34 n.

81 The rounding up of the charge for conversion of public standard to Alexandrian has been increased. At car. $\frac{1}{8}$ per sol. 1 the exact charge on sol. $16\frac{1}{8}$ would have been car. $2\frac{1}{16}$, so that what was originally written, $2\frac{1}{8}\ \frac{1}{4}$ $(= 2\frac{3}{4} = 2\frac{12}{16})$ is the nearest permissible rounding up, but this has been raised to car. 3, for no obvious reason.

82 This payment may be connected with the journey of the *praeses* mentioned above in 59, see n. On mule-carts and other vehicles see A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* ii 830, L. Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World*, 179–82. On the rights of high officials to the use of carriages see W. Weber in the exhibition catalogue *Spätantike und Frühes Christentum* (Liebighaus Museum Alter Plastik, Frankfurt am Main, 1983) 310. Carriage horses were reserved for the emperors.

I ought to confess that I do not quite see how *οχημ̄* was written: the remains look too extensive for *ημ*. However, some version of *ὀχήματος* seems inevitable, cf. P. Beatty Panop. 2.302, 304.

85 The title of an official has been omitted. Perhaps *⟨προνοητοῦ⟩* is not very likely, since the sum is only sol. 12 in 86 and in I **136** 31, cf. above 11 n.

85 and 86 *παραμυθ(ίας)*. Cf. 11 n.

87 *Ταρουσέβτ, Λουκίου*. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 199, 98. These places were in the same stewardship, see **3804** introduction.

ἀποτάκτου χωρ(ίων). Cf. **3804** 34 n.

89 *Νήσου Λευκαδίου*. Cf. **3804** introduction and 15–16 n.

91 *Χοινώθμεως*. Read probably *Χοινώθμεως*. For this and other spellings see P. Heid. IV 320.10 n. It was a Heracleopolite village in one of two toparchies called *Κωΐτης, Κ. Ἄνω* or *Κ. Κάτω*, see P. Heid. 320. We might guess that it was in *Κ. Ἄνω*, i.e. the Upper (or southernmost) Coite toparchy, for it was presumably close to *Σέ(ς)φθα*, which was in the Lower, i.e. northernmost, toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 174–5. The more usual spelling is *Σέσφθα*, but *Σέφθα* is well attested as a variant, cf. 121.

I do not know what is meant by the *παλαιὰ χωρία* of Sesphtha; perhaps just that they had now passed to Choenothmis?

The marginal marks cannot be well represented in print. There are various oblique strokes which may be decorative or significant rather than signs of cancellation. The zeta may stand for *ζ(ήτησον)* or the like, see **3804** 162, *χρὴ ζητῆσαι κτλ.* The cross indicates an accounting difficulty, cf. 102–3 n.

93 *χωμ(άτων)*. Cf. 95–6; E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates*, 59–60.

95 *λοι(πάδος) χρυ(σικῶν)*. Cf. I **136** 13 for the expansion.

χωμ(άτων). Cf. 93 n.

95–6 The calculations are exact except for the rounding up of the charge for conversion from public to Alexandrian standard, sol. $5\frac{48}{48}$ being treated as if it were sol. 6.

97 The cross in the margin indicates an accounting difficulty, cf. 97–9 n., 102–3 n.

Κυριλλᾶ is otherwise found only in XIX **2244** 52. Most probably the form represents the genitive of an unattested personal name *Κυριλλᾶς*, although ed. pr. has *Κύριλλα* and A. Calderini, *Diz. dei nomi geografici* III.ii 169 has *Κυρίλλα*. On names in *-ᾶς* see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii, 16–18.

97–9 The calculation was worked out first for a volume of art. 295 choen. 8 at the price of sol. 1 −car. $4\frac{1}{4}$ per art. 14, but the figures for this part of the sum are sadly astray: $295\frac{1}{8} \div 14$ gives $21\ \frac{8}{76}$, not anything like $22\ \frac{17}{24}$, for instance, and so on similarly. I have not been able to find any plausible relationships in the deleted passages. The calculation which replaced this one, for a volume of art. 155 choen. 8 at the original price of sol. 1 −car. $4\frac{1}{4}$ per art. 14, is at first satisfactory apart from one or two approximations for the purpose of using simpler fractions. For example, $155\frac{1}{8} \div 14$ gives $11\frac{8}{76}$, which has been rounded up to $11\frac{1}{12}$ for multiplying the sol. 1 element of the price. Similarly, car. $4\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{12}$ gives car. $47\frac{8}{48}$, which has been rounded down, if the calculation was actually done this way, to car. 47. In the conversion of private standard to public there was a hesitation. The true figure should have been car. $(11\frac{1}{12} \times 2 =)\ 22\frac{1}{6}$, to be added to car. 47; $69\frac{1}{6}$ was first, it seems, rounded up in the usual way to $69\frac{1}{4}$, and then rounded down to 69. After this the calculation proceeds: car. 69 = sol. 2 car. 21, i.e. sol. $2\frac{21}{24}$, of which the fraction is expressed as $\frac{1}{2}(\frac{12}{24}) + \frac{1}{3}(\frac{8}{24}) + \frac{1}{24}$. At this point the calculations should have been: sol $11\frac{1}{12} - 2\frac{21}{24}$ = sol. $8\frac{8}{24}$ = sol. $8\ \frac{1}{6}(\frac{4}{24}) + \frac{1}{24}$. Somehow it has come out at sol. $8\frac{7}{24}$ = sol. $8\frac{1}{4}(\frac{6}{24}) + \frac{1}{24}$. The charge of car. $\frac{1}{8}$ per sol. 1 for conversion of public standard to Alexandrian on sol. $8\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{24}$, i.e. car. $1\frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{24} + \frac{1}{144}$ = car. $1\frac{55}{144}$ has been rounded up as usual to car. $1\frac{1}{8}$, but this has been added not to sol. $8\frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{24}$ (= 7 carats), but to the correct figure at that price $8\frac{1}{6}\ \frac{1}{24}$ (= 5 carats), to produce sol. 8 car. $6\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}$.

100 *ὀσπριγίτου*. Perhaps read *ὀσπρηγίτου* derived from *ὀσπρηγός*, 'carrying *ὄσπρια*', cf. L. R. Palmer, *Grammar*, 114 for this spelling. Adjectives in *-ηγός* often apply to boats, cf. J. R. Rea, *ZPE* 46 (1982) 206 (add esp. BGU XIII 2353), and in XVI **2021** 7–11 the *ὀσπριγίτης* is concerned with grain transport by boat, cf. A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*, 327.

The amount suggests that the payment may be a premium, cf. 11 and n., 101 n.

101 *βοηθ(οῦ)*. It is not clear to whom this man was an assistant. The sum, exactly half of the one in the preceding entry, may again be a premium.

101–2 The crosses in the margin probably relate to the oddities in 102–3, see note, but they are placed rather high.

102 *ἀκανθεῶν*. On the ending *-έα* for names of trees and plants see L. R. Palmer, *Grammar*, 51–2; add *συκομορέα*, P. Apoll. Ano 11.5, CPR VIII 71.13.

102–3 The figures have been altered and the crosses in the margin, opposite 102 and slightly above, presumably draw attention to the fact that they cause difficulty, cf. 104, 106, 108, 111, 113, 116, 133. As they stand the figures do not conform to the usual practice. Assuming that nothing is added for *rhope*, *incrementum*, and conversion from public standard to Alexandrian, the calculation on, by private standard, sol. $1\frac{1}{3}$ −car. 6 should have worked out at, by Alexandrian standard, sol. $1\frac{1}{3}$ −car. $8\frac{2}{3}$ (rounded up from car. $(1\frac{1}{3}\times 2 = 2\frac{2}{3}+6 =)$ $8\frac{2}{3}$), i.e. sol. 0 +car. $23\frac{1}{3}$. On the original figures, sol. 2 −car. 9, it should have worked out at sol. 2 −car. 13, i.e. sol. 1 +car. 11, and from this we can reach the final figure by adding the usual fee for conversion from public standard to Alexandrian at car. $\frac{1}{3}$ per sol. 1. In this case it is car. $\frac{1}{6}$ rounded up as usual to car. $\frac{1}{2}$, so that sol. 1 +car. $11\frac{1}{2}$ is the correct amount for the original figure. This same calculation appears correctly in 113–15 and again, successfully altered, in 106–7.

104 For the crosses in the margin see 102–3 n.

χοιρεμπώλ(ων) = *χοιρεμπόρων*, rather than *χοιροπωλῶν*, especially since *χοιροπώλης* is not yet recorded in the papyrological dictionaries. For the phonetic changes see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 227 (*ω* = *o*), 103, 104–5 (*λ* = *ρ*).

κ⟦*δ΄*⟧. The exact calculation would have produced car. $(2\times 3\frac{1}{3} = 6\frac{2}{3}+13\frac{1}{3} =)$ $20\frac{1}{6}$, first rounded up to $20\frac{1}{2}$ and then rounded down to 20. The sum clear by public standard was worked out correctly from the rounded up version, then cancelled and replaced by the correct result according to the rounded down version. The same sort of change has been made in 109.

105 *κερ.*⟦*ιβ*⟧. This is correct and appears to have been cancelled in error. There is no other version underneath these figures, though the sign for one-half is a little distorted.

106 For the crosses in the margin see 102–3 n.

ἀκανθ(εῶν). For the expansion of the ending cf. 102 and n. The omission of the location of these trees is perhaps an error, see 102 and 113, where locations are specified.

106–7 The changes to the figures are consistent; the calculation was worked out correctly for sol. $2\frac{1}{2}$ −car. $11\frac{1}{2}$, and then again correctly for sol. 2 −car. 9, a sum which is conspicuous in 102–3 and again in 113–15, all three entries relating to wood.

107 ⟦*κερ. κ*⟧. The intention was to cancel only *κ* = 20; *κερ.* = *κερ(άτια)* should have remained.

The figures in the right margin represent car. $8\frac{2}{3}$, which is the difference between the original result of sol. 1 +car. 20 and the corrected result of sol. 1 +car. $11\frac{1}{3}$, cf. 112 n.

108 For the cross in the margin see 102–3 n.

φ[*ρο(ντιστοῦ)*]. Cf. **3804** 57 n.

Νετνήου. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 119; **3804** 236 n. This appearance in association with Nesmimis, known to have lain once in the Upper Toparchy, see Pruneti, op. cit., 118, confirms the evidence that it lay in the extreme south of the nome.

109 The changes were caused by first rounding up and then rounding down the exact figure: $2\frac{1}{3}\times 2 = 4\frac{2}{3}+12\frac{1}{2} = 17\frac{1}{6}$, rounded up to $17\frac{1}{4}$ and then down to 17. Cf. 104 n.

111 For the cross in the margin see 102–3 n.

βολοστροφικ(οῦ). Read presumably *βωλοστροφικ(οῦ)*, a new word, cf. *LSJ* s.v. *βωλοστροφέω*, *Suppl.* s.v. *βωλοστροφία*.

κλιβ(αν-). The two obvious possibilities are *κλιβ(ανεῖ)*, 'baker', and *κλιβ(αναρίῳ)*, 'armoured cavalryman'. The *κλίβανος* can be of metal, see H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus*, s.v. *κρίβανος*, *LSJ* s.v. *κριβανίτης*, *TLL* s.v. *clibanus*, W. Hilgers, *Lateinische Gefässnamen*, 148–9, so that either a *κλιβανεύς* or an armoured soldier might have had a use for this scrap metal. The metal vessel identified as a *clibanus* by D. H. Quentin, 'Clibanus, Pigella, Panis Artopticius', in *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accad. Rom. di Archeologia* 4 (1925–6) 81–9, esp. 86–7, figs. 2–3, does bear a certain resemblance to a cuirass and would satisfactorily explain the term *clibanarius*, 'cuirassier', see further D. Hoffmann, *Das Spätrömische Bewegungsheer* 267–9, cf. M. P. Speidel, *Epigr. Anat.* 4 (1984) 151–6.

112 The half sign near the end of the line should have been cancelled along with the preceding gamma. Car. 2 in the margin is the difference between the cancelled figure of sol. 3 car. $\frac{1}{2}$ and the corrected total of sol. 2 car. 22 $\frac{1}{2}$, cf. 107 n.

113 The crosses in the margin usually denote difficulties in the account, see 102 3 n. Here the figures are consistent and unaltered, but it is noticeable that some of them are the same as those in the confused entry in 102–3, also relating to wood, see further below.

ἐργοδιώκτ(ου). Cf. E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates*, 110. These 'foremen' were attached to particular settlements or groups of settlements, but their activities could cross the boundaries of the areas administered by the *προνοηταί*, see **3804** 155–6 n.

ξύλ(ων) κλαπ(έντων). Also possible is *ξύλ(ου) κλαπ(έντος)*. Perhaps this is a fine levied on the *ἐργοδιώκτης* for allowing the wood to be stolen. It is noticeable that the sum, by Alexandrian standard sol. 1 +car. $11\frac{1}{3}$, is the same as the part-price for two fallen acacia trees in 102–3, see note for the difficulties over the figures, and for three acacia trees in 106–7. It is odd that parts of two trees, three trees, and an unspecified amount of stolen wood should all have the same value.

116 For the cross in the margin see 102–3 n. Here the figures are consistent, but some of the superfluous wording has been omitted, cf. 117.

Θεοδώρῳ ῥπαρ(ίῳ). Cf. 11 and n.

117 Some of the usual wording has been omitted, cf. 116 n. After the total clear by public standard the entries usually specify that nothing has been added for *rhope* or *incrementum*, and give the charge for conversion from public standard to Alexandrian standard at car. $\frac{1}{3}$ per sol. 1. Here all this is omitted, but the conversion is actually calculated, i.e. car. $\frac{1}{6}\times 4 = \frac{2}{3}$, rounded up as usual to $\frac{3}{4}$, and added to the total clear by public standard.

118 *ἐπικ(ειμένου)*. Cf. 35 n.

On brickmaking see **3804** 151–3 n.

121 *πραγμα(τευτοῦ)*. Since he pays directly 'by Alexandrian standard', like officials or estate employees such as *riparius* (11), *zygostates* (30), and area steward (86), cf. 7–8 n., he is more likely to be an agent, cf. XLII **3048** 15, 19, XLV **3260** 4, than a trader, cf. XVI **1880** 5 n., L **3577** introduction p. 93.

Σέφθα. Cf. 91 n.

122–37 This column (ix) is narrower than the preceding ones and the entries have less detail, some of them being very sketchy indeed, no more than jottings.

122–4 Comparing 125, *ὑ(πὲρ) ἄλλ(ων) β ἀκανθ(εῶν)*, we might guess that *ϙνκ*( ) is a mistake for *ἀκανθ*( ), but *νκ* seems clear enough and the final superscript does not look like theta as in 125.

The figures are consistent.

125–6 The figures are consistent as far as they go but the calculation is not brought to a conclusion. The correction of car. $14\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 is carelessly done, leaving *ι* = 10 standing twice. One might equally well print *ι*⟦*δ*⟧{*ι*}*ϵ*.

127 The first entry was incompletely deleted and then abandoned.

127–8 These figures are consistent, with the usual rounding up of car. $(2\times 2\frac{1}{2} =)$ $4\frac{2}{3}$ to $4\frac{3}{4}$. The final result by Alexandrian standard, i.e. sol. 1 +car. 18, has not been written down here.

129 The first amount, sol. 3 −car. 18, does not obviously relate to anything else in the neighbourhood. It is certainly not the correct result of the calculations in 127–8. The second amount, sol. $2\frac{1}{3}$ −car. $14\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$, looks like a distortion of the second stage of the calculations in 127–8, sol. $2\frac{1}{3}$ −car. $14\frac{1}{4}$.

130 *κ(α)θ(αρὰ) δημ. νο(μ.)* has been repeated and then abandoned.

130–1 The first stages of this calculation seem to have been omitted. It is partially repeated in 132.

132 The isolated figures '3' and '12' seem unconnected with the rest, which is a partial repetition of 130–1.

133–5 For the cross in the margin see 102–3 n., but there is no significant error, apart from the first *νο(μ.)*, which seems to have been abandoned. *ἀλλ*( ) may go with the second *νο(μ.)*, i.e. 'another sol. 4', etc. The figures are consistent.

136–7 The figures are consistent.

138–46 This column (x) is written along the fibres upwards. No relation has been discovered between it and any of the other items on either the verso or the recto of the roll. The hand is not decidedly different from the other, or others, found on the verso.

141 This sum of, by Alexandrian standard, sol. 255 car. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ appears again in 146, but the working-out which intervenes in 142–6 contains many deletions and corrections and according to my readings and calculations is not precisely correct, although broadly acceptable.

142 First comes the correct total of the sums in 138–140, described here as being all 'by private

standard'. When this is converted to public standard the fractions of a carat ($\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{4}$) are ignored, i.e. $277\times2=554+176$ (instead of 176 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$) = 730. This number of carats is correctly converted to sol. 30 $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{12}$ (720 (sol. 30) +8 (sol. $\frac{1}{3}$) +2 (sol. $\frac{1}{12}$) = 730).

143 The first calculation should have been sol. 277 $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{48}$ $\frac{1}{96}$ (i.e. $\frac{11}{96}$) −sol. 30 $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{12}$ (i.e. $\frac{40}{96}$) = 246 $\frac{67}{96}$ (i.e. $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{1}{48}$ $\frac{1}{96}$). It is not quite certain that this total was correctly reached. The first result was 246 $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{1}{96}$, i.e. $\frac{65}{96}$ instead of $\frac{67}{96}$. The interlinear correction is faint at the beginning but may have had $\beta\zeta=\frac{2}{3}$. Then comes $\bar{\eta}=\frac{1}{8}$ and it is not absolutely clear that this has been deleted, though it may have been. The sum of sol. $\frac{67}{96}$ cannot be correctly expressed in such a way as to end with $\bar{\eta}$ $\mu\bar{\eta}$ $\varrho\varsigma'=\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{48}$ $\frac{1}{96}$, which is $\frac{15}{96}$. The difference, $\frac{52}{96}$, would properly be $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{24}$ (∟ $\kappa\beta$), which does not produce the required descending order of fractions.

If the fractions of a carat (car. $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ = sol. $\frac{1}{48}$ $\frac{1}{96}$) had not been neglected in this conversion from private to public standard, see 142 n., the calculation would have been sol. 277 $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{48}$ $\frac{1}{96}$ (i.e. $\frac{11}{96}$) −30 $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{48}$ $\frac{1}{96}$ (i.e. $\frac{43}{96}$) = 246 $\frac{2}{3}$ ($\frac{43}{96}$), but it does not seem to be this which lies behind the confusion here.

The calculation for *rhope* does not meet the expectations aroused by 138–40 and 142. According to them the total of sol. 277 $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{48}$ $\frac{1}{96}$ less car. 176 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ (142) is made up of sol. 252 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{96}$ less car. 112 $\frac{1}{4}$ with *rhope* (138), plus sol. 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{48}$ less car. 58 $\frac{1}{2}$ free of *rhope* (139), plus sol. 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ less car. 6 described simply as 'by private standard'. Here the same total of solidi, ignoring the carats, is divided into sol. 256 $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{48}$ $\frac{1}{96}$ with *rhope* (and *incrementum*, see 144) and sol. 21 free of *rhope* and *incrementum*, for reasons I do not understand.

At the end of the line the original figure was 128 $\frac{1}{8}$ and it appears that the figures representing 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ have been struck through without being replaced. Car. 128 $\frac{1}{8}$ would be correct for sol. 257 at car. $\frac{1}{8}$ per sol. 1 and 257 could be regarded as a rounding-up of 256 $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{48}$ $\frac{1}{96}$.

144 *Incrementum* is calculated at car. $\frac{1}{8}$ per sol., cf. L. C. West, A. C. Johnson, *Currency*, 142, 145. The original total on the line was 34 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$, which implied that it was calculated on sol. 278, i.e. $34\frac{3}{4}\times8=278$. This could be regarded as a rounding-up of the whole total in line 142, i.e. 277 $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{48}$ $\frac{1}{96}$ by private standard. The final $\frac{1}{4}$ of 34 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ has been struck out, implying that it was calculated on sol 276, i.e. $34\frac{1}{2}\times8=276$, which could be regarded as a rounding-down of the same total in line 142. The figure of 34 $\frac{1}{2}$ has been allowed to stand, but above it has been written 32, implying that *incrementum* was calculated on 256, i.e. $32\times8=256$. This is a rounding-down of what we have been led to expect by line 143, i.e. sol. 256 $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{48}$ $\frac{1}{96}$, the remaining sol. 21 being free of *rhope* and *incrementum*.

The next step was to give the total of *rhope* plus *incrementum*, at which the first attempt was car. 172 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$. The end of this, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$, was struck out, but replaced by something above the line also ending in $\frac{1}{4}$. Next the original sum of 172 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ is converted correctly to sol. 7 car. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ ($24\times7=168+4\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}=172\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$), and here the figures for carats are struck out and replaced at the side by 5 $\frac{1}{4}$. This suggests, though I cannot verify it from the remains, that the original 172 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ had been corrected to 173 $\frac{1}{4}$. However, I must confess that I cannot relate these totals in the one-seventies to the preceding figures.

The final step of this stage was to write in above the line, without cancelling what seem to be mistakes, figures which we can accept, namely car. 160 $\frac{1}{2}$, which is the correct total of 128 $\frac{1}{8}$ plus 32, and sol. 6 car. 16 $\frac{1}{2}$, which is the correct conversion of car. 160 $\frac{1}{2}$, i.e. $6\times24=144+16\frac{1}{2}=160\frac{1}{2}$.

145 The total given here after correction, sol. 253 car. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$, is car. 1 short of what we expect, i.e. 246 $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{1}{48}$ $\frac{1}{96}$ (= $\frac{67}{96}$) clear by public standard +sol. 6 car. 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ (= $\frac{48}{96}$) for *rhope* and *incrementum* = sol. 253 car. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ (= $\frac{92}{96}$). I have not been able to find any plausible reason for this among the previous errors and alterations.

145–6 The total for conversion to the Alexandrian standard worked out at car. $\frac{1}{8}$ per sol. 1 on sol. 253 was given originally as car. 42 $\frac{1}{4}$, which could represent a rounding-up of the correct figure 42 $\frac{1}{8}$. Subsequently the $\frac{1}{4}$ was deleted, thus rounding the figure down to car. 42. The conversion was put first as sol. 1 car. 18 $\frac{1}{4}$ to answer to 42 $\frac{1}{4}$ and again the quarter was deleted, leaving sol. 1 car. 18.

146 The total of sol. 253 car. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ plus sol. 1 car. 18 should have been sol. 255 car. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$, but instead of car. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ we seem to have had first car. 17 $\frac{1}{4}$, corrected first to car. 5 and only then to car. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ above the line.

The last note of all seems to say that there is an excess of car. 13, which is again incomprehensible.

III. PRIVATE LETTERS

3806. Private Letter

34 4B.72/L(1)a 22.5 × *c.*29 cm 21 May 15

This letter, written throughout in a large clear practised cursive, is mainly of interest as a dated palaeographical specimen, see Plate VII. Two sheet joins, one near the right edge substantially complete and one much damaged near the left edge, show that the piece was cut from a blank roll and written along the fibres in the normal way. The left edge, which was on the outside when the letter was rolled up for dispatch with the right edge inside, has suffered damage which mainly affects the address on the back, and the prescript was almost completely lost when a strip from the top became completely detached; this happened while the letter was in roll form, as the repeating pattern of the broken edge shows.

.]...[.....].[...].[*c.*12 letters].[*c.*5?

. . . . .

. . . . .

χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν.

...].ωνίου ἀναπλέοντος ἀναγκαῖον ἔγνων ἀ[cπ]ά-
cα]cθαί cε διὰ γραπτοῦ καὶ παρακαλές{c}αι cε γράφειν
μοι περὶ ὧν ἐὰν θέλῃc. ἥδιcτα γὰρ ποιήcω{ι}. τῶι
ἀδελ(φῷ) cου κατὰ ἑκάcτην ἡμέραν παρεδρεύω{ι},
μὴ θέλει ἐπιcτολάc coι πέμψαι. τὸ δῖγμα τοῦ
ἐ]ριδίου δῖξον Φιλοῦτι καὶ γράψον μοι ἡ ἀρές-
κει αὐτῆι ἢ οὔ. πείθομαι δὲ μᾶλλον ἀρές{c}ειν.
πᾶcαν γὰρ ἐργαcίαν ἔδωκα ἐκτὸc τοῦ καὶ ξενικὸν
δεῖγμα δεδωκέναι τῶι βαφεῖ, καὶ ὅμως κάλλιον
τοῦτο ἐξέβη{ι}. τὰ ἄλλα cεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἐπιμελοῦ ἵνα ὑγιαίν⟨ῃc⟩.
'καὶ' γρά⟦φ[ε] μοι⟧'ψον μοι' ἀντιφωνήcειc τῶν πρώτων. ὑγίαινέ μοι
ψυχῆι. ἔρρωco.

(ἔτους) α Τιβερίου Καίcαροc Cεβαcτοῦ, Παχὼν κ̄ϛ̄.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

10–15 letters].. (vac.) [...] (vac.) γραμμ(ατ-) Κορράγου.

6 αδ̣ε̣ 7 l. δεῖγμα 8 l. δεῖξον, εἰ 15 ∟α 16 γραμμ∟

'(A to B?) greeting and good health!'

'Since . . . is going upstream I judged it necessary to salute you by letter and invite you to write to me about whatever you may want. I shall do it with great pleasure. I attend on your brother every day in case he wants to send letters to you. Show the sample of wool to Philūs, and write me if it pleases her or not. I believe that it will rather please her, for I gave (it) every attention, besides having given the dyer an imported sample as well, and even so this one turned out nicer. For the rest, look after yourself so as to keep well, and write me answers to (my) first (letters). Keep well in spirit! Farewell!'

'Year 1 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Pachon 26.'

Address: '. . . , secretary of Corrhagus.'

1–2 The basic pattern of the prescript is likely to have been, 'A to B *χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν*', cf. F. X. J. Exler, *A Study in Greek Epistolography* 32–3. It is possible that it had a longer variant running to a second line now entirely lost. The remains of the first three letters surviving suggest]δι̣ρ[or]α̣ι̣ρ[, which could be supplemented in many ways, e.g. *Δι̣ρ*[-, *Γ*]*άι̣ρ*[*ε*. The address describes one of the parties as 'secretary of Corrhagus', which is not likely to have been repeated here. Line 1 could have been shorter than the average.

3 ..]*.ωνίου*. The trace is a horizontal joining omega. The most obvious possibilities are *γ*, *ε*, *θ*, *ϲ*, and *τ*, and names to suit all these can be found in F. Dornseiff and B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wb. d. gr. Eigennamen* 239–40; e.g. *Ἀρ*]*βωνίου*, *Ἀν*]*τωνίου*, to take common names.

ἀναπλέοντος. Since the bearer of the letter was sailing upstream, it is probable that the letter was directed to Oxyrhynchus from some place on the Nile or the Bahr Yusuf north of Oxyrhynchus or from Alexandria itself.

ἀναγκαῖον. The remains of the damaged letter rather suggest alpha, but this would be an error.

4 *παρακαλές{ϲ}αι*. Cf. 9 *ἀρές{ϲ}ειν*. This is a common type of phonetic spelling, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 154–65, esp. 159–60.

5 *ποιήϲω{ι}*. Cf. 6 *παρεδρεύω{ι}*, 12 *ἐξέβη{ι}*, and Gignac, op. cit. i 183–6, esp. 185.

5–6 *τῶι ἀδελ(φῶι) cov*. Cf. **3808** introd., **3812** 17 n., **3813–15** introd. para. 2, **3819** introd., **3820** 1 n.

6 *παρεδρεύω{ι}*. Cf. 5 n.

7 *μὴ θέλει*, 'in case he wants'. Cf. *LSJ* s.v. *μή* B.8.b, Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf, *Grammatik d. neutestamentl. Griechisch*[15] p. 300 § 370 and nn. 2, 5.

7–8 *δίγμα, δίξον*. Cf. Gignac, op. cit. i 189–90. Contrast *δεῖγμα* (11).

8 *ἡ = εἰ*. Cf. Gignac, op. cit. i 240.

9 *ἀρές{ϲ}ειν*. Cf. 4 n.

10–11 *ξενικὸν δεῖγμα*. Cf. 7–8 *τὸ δῖγμα* (= *δεῖγμα*) *τοῦ* [*ἐ*]*ριδίου*. Cf. E. Wipszycka, *L'Industrie textile* 27, for the import of wool to Egypt.

12 *ἐξέβη{ι}*. Cf. 5 n.

ϲεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ. Cf. Gignac, op. cit. i 186–9, esp. 187–8.

13–14 *ὑγίαινέ μοι ψυχῆι*. Cf. P. Herm. Rees 5.14 *ἐρρωμένον ψυχῆι τε καὶ ϲώματι*, SB VI 9401.8 *ἐρρωμένους ψ. τ. κ. ϲ.*

15 The date is equivalent to 21 May, AD 15. It is well known that the numbering of the Egyptian regnal years of Tiberius proves that his *dies imperii* fell not earlier than 1 Thoth = 29 August, which was the New Year's Day of the Egyptian calendar as reformed under Augustus, see especially D. M. Pippidi, *Autour de Tibère* 125–32, cf. O. Montevecchi, *YCS* 28 (1985) 267–72. This confirms the evidence of the ancient historians that he did not become emperor immediately upon the death of Augustus on 19 August, AD 14. Unfortunately the Egyptian date clauses are not yet of much help in narrowing the range for the actual date, but it may be worth while to try to identify the significant items of evidence.

The latest date by regnal year of Augustus, surprisingly the only one surviving to specify year 44, is found in a rock inscription from Gebel es-Silsila, SB III 6845 derived from F. Preisigke, W. Spiegelberg, *Ägypt. u. Griech. Inschriften . . . Gebel Silsile*, No. 28 and Taf. II. The published reading of the date clause gives the month as *Φ*]$^{\text{θ}}_{\text{ω}}$*αώφι*, which is hard to reconcile with the drawing in Taf. II. Professor Ricardo Caminos, who examined the original in 1982, has kindly given me full access to his tracing and notes and has permitted me to give his version of the date clause. I am grateful to him and to the Egypt Exploration Society for permission to make use of this improved reading in advance of publication in R. A. Caminos, *Gebel es-Silsilah* v (no date yet available). The date clause runs, (*ἔτους*) *μδ* $^{\text{ϛ}}_{\text{ϛ}}$ *Καίϲαροϲ* (vac.) $^{\text{θ}}_{\text{θ}}$ *Θὼθ* (vac.) *κ̄*, i.e. 17 September, AD 14. The space at the end of 5 is too small to accommodate *Θώθ* in full and the writer was naturally reluctant to divide it. The space in 6 was motivated by a rough patch in the rock, though it also serves to equalize the layout. Marks between the omega and final theta of *Θώθ*, which are very prominent in ed. pr.'s Tafel. II and which were read as the second phi of Phaophi, are very thin lines seemingly not related to the rest but avoided by the writer of the dedication.

This date is less than a month after the death of Augustus and comes from a site about 145 km south of Thebes (Luxor), cf. R. A. Caminos in *Lexikon d. Ägyptologie* ii 441. It tells us nothing out of the ordinary, since news of an accession usually took as much as fifty or sixty days to penetrate so far even as Thebes, see U. Wilcken, *Gr. Ostr.* i 800–7. The latest Augustan date from Thebes itself is the demotic tax receipt O. Mattha (= G. Mattha, *The Demotic Ostraca*) 13, of 30 August, AD 14, only eleven days after the emperor's death.

The first date ostensibly by Tiberius is now O. Dem. Leid. (= M. A. A. Nur El-Din, *The Demotic Ostraca in . . . Leiden*) 57.3, doubtfully dated to the first regnal year, in the month of Thoth; the day number is lost. If the year number were correct, the date would be earlier than 28 September (= 1 Phaophi), AD 14, in which case the news of the new *dies imperii* would have taken less than 30 days (29 August–27 September) to reach Thebes, which would be a record. Dr Mark Smith informs me that that the drawing of the damaged number in O. Dem. Leid. p. 590 could represent equally well 1, 2, or 5, so that this item gives no reliable date. I am grateful to Dr Smith also for much more advice and direction among the demotic texts.

The next ostensible date appears in P. Tebt. II 561 (description) as (*ἔτους*) *α Τιβερίου Καίϲαροϲ Ϲεβαϲτοῦ μηνὸϲ*(*ϲ*) *Νέου* [*Ϲεβα*(*ϲτοῦ*)] *β* = 29 October, AD 14. Both figures are marked doubtful, and in addition this would be the earliest occurrence of the month name *Νέοϲ Ϲεβαϲτόϲ*, which replaced *Ἀθύρ*. Two later dates in the same month of the same year refer to Hathyr, see below, and reliable evidence for *Νέοϲ Ϲεβαϲτόϲ* does not appear till year 2 (PSI IX 1028; cf. K. Scott, *YCS* 2 (1931) 243). This item too must be regarded as doubtful.

Next comes O. Edfou III 401.4 (*ἔτους*) *α Τιβερίου Καίϲαροϲ Ἀθὺρ ιϛ̄* = 7 November, AD 14 (Apollinopolis Magna). This seems to be the first reliable date. Note the month name Hathyr, which also occurs in the next item, O. Dem. Leid. 56. 4–5, dated 1 Tiberius, Hathyr 14 = 10 November, AD 14 (Thebes). These two dates coming from southern Egypt suggest that the *dies imperii* was known in Rome at the latest by about fifty or sixty days before, say in the second half of September.

So far, then, the evidence of the Egyptian texts can only be claimed to show that the *dies imperii* fell after 29 August and before, say, 20 September, the second terminus being no more than a very rough approximation. K. Wellesley, *JRS* 57 (1967) 23–30, has argued that the likely date is about 3 or 4 September, which falls within the range indicated. More recently M. M. Sage, *Anc. Soc.* 13/14 (1982/3) 293–321, has argued for the 'long' chronology, placing the date about mid-October (pp. 310–11). The ostraca of 7 and 10 November make so late a date very improbable. The 'middle' chronology (see Sage, op. cit. 293 n. 3 for references) places both *dies imperii* and the deification of Augustus on 17 September (cf. op. cit. 294 and n. 7), another date not contradicted by the Egyptian texts.

16 Addresses are not standardized enough for us to know whether it ran, 'to A, secretary . . .', or 'to A. from B, secretary . . .'

Corrhagus is a rare name, probably Macedonian, see M. Holleaux, *Etudes d'Epigraphie* ii 81–3, I. Russu, *Ephemeris Dacoromana* 8 (1938) 120, 130, 194–5. Add W. Clarysse, G. Schleppens, *CE* 60 (1985) 41, n. line 4, *SEG* 33 (1983) 155 no. 529.

3807. Business Letter

58/B(36)a — 24.5 × 30 cm — *c.*26–28?

Only the close of this letter and the postscript are well preserved. The upper left portion of col. ii is broken away and of the preceding column only the ends of the last eleven lines survive. It is written in a clumsy but practised first century hand with

numerous abbreviations. The piece has been cut from a roll and the writing runs along the fibres of the recto in the usual way, as can be seen from two sheet-joins *c.*5.5 cm and *c.*19.5 cm from the left edge, so that the visible width of the middle sheet is *c.*14 cm. At the right the height of the roll seems to be completely preserved except for wear. The back is mostly blank except for stray blots, although at one point there are faded remains which might represent a short docket of ten or fifteen letters, not one of which has been recognized for certain.

The interest lies largely in the reference to Hiberus (39), who is obviously the governor of Egypt mentioned by Philo, *In Flaccum* 2, as the predecessor of Avillius Flaccus, and by Dio, LVIII 19.6, as the successor of Vitrasius Pollio. Unfortunately the letter is not dated. From the mention of a 'register . . . of the 12th year', AD 25/6 (36), and of a 'period of three years' (*τριετίας*, 40), I have argued that the date of the letter is not likely to be later than early in year 15, AD 28/9. If this is correct, there are interesting repercussions on the list of prefects for the period and perhaps on the understanding of the career of the younger Seneca, see 39 n.

col. i

(opposite ii 21–31)

. . . . . .

]. [
]. εξ̣[
]δ (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) λη, (λοιπαὶ) λϛ (τετρώβολον) ...
]. ν λαβεῖν ὑπερ...[..]
] ϰαὶ ἔλεγεν εϰ̣.[..]
]. ρογρ( ) λαβὼν ἐξ ῥ̣ίκου
]. ασι τοῦ υἱοῦ α̣ὐτοῦ
]. ιων ρ̣ καὶ τὸ σῶμα̣
]. ρ ἀνθρώπ̣ινα
]ϲ τὸν Ἰουδαῖον
] καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ

3 /ʃλη ∩ λϛξ 6].ογ^{L}ρ̄

col. ii

*c.*27 letters].ον χόρ̣τον
*c.*25]το[.] Ἡρα̣κλᾶτο(ϲ)
*c.*18].ειν καὶ ζ̣ήτησον ποῦ
15 *c.*15]απιανός, ἵνα μὴ ἀργῇ, καὶ ἔντειλ(αι)
*c.*15]ϲ δραχ(μ) αἰτήϲῃ τὸν Ναρκίϲσου
*c.*15]. ὀφείλεται αὐ̣τ̣[.]ι. (vac.)
*c.*15] δερμ.[.].. [δ]ερμ( ) β̄ καὶ
*c.*15]. δερμ( ) αἰγ(ει-) . ὡϲ ἰϲ οἶκον
20 *c.*15]θμη( ) λαβε..[....] καὶ τὰϲ
*c.*15]ᾳ διὰ τοῦ γ[ενομ(ένου)] ϲτρ(ατηγοῦ) Αὐάϲεω(ϲ)
..[*c.*14]ϲτρατ.[....] ᾧδε πρὸϲ
δ̣ύ̣ο̣ ἡμέρας καὶ ..[..].νοτ..[.....]..ουϲι εἴϲε̣[λ]θε.
ἐ̣ὰν ϲὺ θέλῃϲ ε[ἰϲ]ελθεῖν εἰϲ πρᾳκτορεί(αν) ϲὺν Χαιρέᾳ
ε̣ἰ̣ϲ̣έλθῃϲ, εἰ̣ δὲ μ[ή] γε, ϲὺ λάβῃϲ τοπαρχίαν καὶ
τελέϲαϲ εἴϲελθε. πρὸϲ τὴν [.]...ην τῶν
ὀ̣λυρρ̣οκοπιῶ̣(ν) ἑωρτὴν φθάν[ειν χ]ρ̣ὴ̣ τὴν ἀπο-
γραφ̣ὴ̣(ν) τελέϲαι. ἀπὸ γὰρ ϰ̄ϛ̄ [.....].ηϲ ἀπογρ(αφ-)
χ̣ί̣νε̣τ̣α̣ι̣. (vac.)
30 εἶπον Παυϲιρίωνι τῶι υ....? [α]ἰ̣τ̣ῆϲα̣ι̣
Κόμωνα οἰνοπώλ(ην) (δραχμὰϲ) η̄, εἰ μὴ ἰϲ [οἶ]κο(ν) ἔδωκε(ν).
(vac.)
(m. 2?) ἔ̣ρ̣ρ̣ω̣ϲ̣ο̣.
(m. 1) μ̣ε̣τ̣ὰ̣ ταῦτα ἔλαβον τὴν Διογένο(υϲ) προϲμαρτύρη(ϲιν).
μ̣έ̣μ̣φ̣ομαι δὲ μεγάλω(ϲ) τοὺϲ μαχαιρο(φόρους) μὴ προ-
35 π̣ε̣μ̣ψαντά̣ϲ με εἰϲ Δικωμί(αν). ἔγραψα δοῦν̣α̣ι̣
.[..] τὸ διάϲτρ̣ω̣μ̣(α) τῶν ἱκανοδοϲιῶ̣(ν) τοῦ ιβ (ἔτουϲ).
μ̣ε̣τ̣α̣λ̣α̣μ̣β̣ά̣ν̣ο̣μ̣ε̣ν̣ π̣α̣ρ̣ὰ̣ τῶν ἀναπλεόντων
κα[τ]έχεϲθαι τοὺϲ π̣ρ̣ο̣κ̣α̣τ̣α̣π̣ε̣π̣λ̣ε̣υ̣κ̣ό̣τ̣α̣ϲ̣ γραμμ(ατέαϲ)
Κάτω χώραϲ διὰ τ̣ὸ̣ αὐτὸν Ἴβηρον ἐ̣π̣ι̣π̣ο̣ρ̣ε̣ύ̣ε̣ϲ̣θ̣(αι)

13 ηρακλαᾶ 15 εντει$^{\lambda}$ 16 δρα$^{\chi}$ 18–19 δερ$^{\bar{\mu}}$ 19 αιγ̃; l. εἰϲ 20]θμ$^{\eta}$
21 ϲτ$^{\bar{\rho}}$ αυαϲ$^{\bar{\varepsilon}\omega}$ 24 πρακτορε$^{\iota}$ 27 ρλυρροκοπ$^{\bar{\iota}\omega}$; l. ἑορτήν 28 γραφ$^{\eta}$, απογ$^{\bar{\rho}}$
31 οινοπ$^{\lambda}$ω ʃη̃; l. εἰϲ; [οι]$^{\varepsilon}$κεδωϰ$^{\varepsilon}$ 33 διογεν$^{\eta}$προϲμαρτυ$^{\rho}$ 34 μεγαλ$^{\omega}$, μαχαιρ$^{\rho}$
35 - τάϲ corr. from -τεϲ, δικωμι$^{\iota}$ 36 διαϲτρω$^{\bar{\mu}}$, ικανοδοϲι$^{\omega}$, ιβ$^{\iota}$ 38 γραμμ$^{\bar{\mu}}$ 39 επιπορευεϲ$^{\theta}$

τὰ βυβλία, μάλιστα τὰ ἐλαττώματα τῆς τριετίας,
οὗ χάριν φοβοῦμαι μὴ καὐτὸς πόλυν χρόνον ἐκεῖ
κατασχεθῶ{ι}. (vac.) τοὺς β̄ χάρτας ἔλαβον.
χαίρω μεγάλως ἐπὶ τῷ με μέλλειν κατα[πλ]εῦσαι κα[ὶ]
μηδὲν ἔχων κατ'[ε]ὐχὴν χάριν τῶν Διοπολιτικῷ(ν)
πραγμάτων. διὸ μηδὲ ὑμεῖς μετ...[.]....

44 διοπολιτικ̣ῷ

21 ff. '. . . through the former strategus of the Oasis . . . here for two days . . . If you want to enter upon the practoria with Chaereas, you may. If not, you may take a toparchy and enter upon it when you have finished (or 'paid'?). It is necessary to hurry and finish the registration in time for the . . . festival of the olyra-threshing(?). For . . . registration is taking place from the 25th.'

'I told Paysirion the . . . to ask Comon the wineseller for 8 drachmas, unless he delivered at the office.'

(2nd hand?) 'Farewell.'

(1st hand) 'After this I received the evidence of Diogenes. I greatly blame the armed guards for not escorting me to Dicomia. I wrote instructions to deliver the register of sureties for the 12th year (to you?). We hear tell from the people sailing upstream that the clerks of the Low country who have previously sailed downstream are being detained because Hiberus himself is going through the books, especially the deficits of the three-year period, for which reason I am afraid that I too may be detained there for a long time. I received the two rolls of papyrus. I am very pleased that I am about to sail downstream(?) although I have had no satisfaction because of the Diopolite affairs. So don't you (have any regrets?) either.'

3 For ⟃ = (λοιπ-), i.e. a version of $\overset{\lambda}{\delta}$, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* ii 817.

4 The first trace is a vertical,]η or]ι; not]ν, therefore not c]ννλαβεῖν.

6 Possibly ἀ]πογρ(αφ-), cf. 28.

8 The isolated omicron seems unavoidable, in spite of slight damage. Either ὁ followed by a participle or ὅ followed by a verb is conceivable.

8–9 Perhaps cῶμα means 'corpse', followed by something like ταῦτα γ]ὰρ ἀνθρώπινα, 'For these things are (part of being) human', cf. **3819** 12.

10 The bare mention of a Jew adds little to what is known about Judaism in Egypt in this period, for which see E. M. Smallwood, *The Jews under the Roman Rule*, Ch. 10 'The Jews in Egypt and Alexandria', pp. 220–55, or for more detail A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*.

13 Restore perhaps τὸ[ν] Ἡρακλᾶτο(c), rather than το[ῦ], cf. 16 τὸν Ναρκίccου, but the sense does not emerge.

14–15 The sense may be, 'Find out where . . . apianus (is hiding?), so that he shall not be idle (or "not be without work"), and instruct him (or another?) to ask for so many drachmas from the . . . of Narcissus'.

15 Cαρ]απιανός and Ἀπιανός are the obvious possibilities, cf. F. Dornseiff, B. Hansen, *Rückl. Wb. d. gr. Eigennamen* 266.

17–18 It may just possibly be relevant that there was a πράκτωρ δερμάτων in the early third century AD, see BGU II 655 and cf. 24.

20]θμη( ). Part of ἀρίθμηcις is perhaps likeliest.

21 cτρ(ατηγοῦ) Αὐάcεω(c). In this series we usually expect an Oasis to be the Small Oasis (Bahariya), most easily reached from Oxyrhynchus, but an allusion to a Diospolis, perhaps one of the two in the Thebaid, occurs below in 44, which opens up the possibility that this might be the Large Oasis (Khargeh). The few known strategi of these two oases are listed in G. Bastianini, J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* (Pap. Flor. XV) 83–4.

22 cτρατ.[....]. Either cτρατη[or cτρατι[would suit.

24 5 It seems that the recipient was invited to take a post either as a practor or as a toparch, two offices to which appointment was later compulsory, cf. F. Oertel, *Liturgie* 195–204, 162–4. The writer was evidently influential.

24 It is not clear whether cὺν Χαιρέᾳ belongs in the protasis or in the apodosis, but the sense is much the same in either case.

The only Chaereas in B. W. Jones, J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Register of Oxyrhynchites 30 B.C.–A.D. 96*, is the strategus who is attested from February AD 23 to January AD 29, ibid. p. 47 no. 827. This is very suitable to the indications of the date, see 39 n., but not at first sight to the context, which seems to imply that Chaereas was to be a colleague of the addressee as practor. Perhaps, however, it is the help or the company of the strategus which is recommended.

26–7 The word ὀλυροκοπία, spelled here perhaps ὀλυρω-, is new. Olyra is a grain, not yet identified for certain, see D. W. Rathbone, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 272–5. Workers called ὀλυροκόποι appear in OGIS II 729 (= SB V 8924).4, whom Dittenberger asserted to be millers and bakers, perhaps rightly, cf. ἀρτοκόποc, in which case the reference here is not to threshing but to baking.

The remains of what is presumably an adjective in 26 are fairly slight, but perhaps a good guess could be verified; [μ]εχάλην, though perhaps not impossible, does not seem to suit.

27–8 The nature of the registration is not clear. It is thought that the regular census, called κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή from the reign of Nero, may have taken place on two occasions in the reign of Tiberius, in year 6 = AD 19/20 and year 20 = AD 33/4, see recently C. Balconi, *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* iii 1103–4. The first is excluded by the mention of year 12 (36) and if my view of the dating is right, see 39 n., the document is too early to represent even preparations for the second occasion.

In 38 I thought first of] τῆς ἀπογρ(αφῆς), but it is then difficult to find a satisfactory restoration. Since the first surviving letter is represented only by the end of a high horizontal, it could suit [ἡ τῆς] χῆς ἀπογρ(αφή). Even so it is not entirely clear what sort of registration of land this would be, see O. Montevecchi, *Papirologia* 184–7, for a summary of the sorts of registration which are attested. It is possible that the registration has a direct connection with the appointment of practors and toparchs.

30 εἶπον might be imperative, 'tell', rather than indicative, 'I told', see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 292 (§683.1), cf. 289 (§664.1), Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf, *Gramm. d. neutest. Griechisch*[15] 63 (§81.1). A Paysirion of the right date (July AD 27) occurs in XVII **2148** 7, but the bare name gives no clue to υ....[η] here. The trace of the letter following upsilon is difficult to reconcile with pi, which would offer the best range of possibilities.

31 ὶc (= εἰc) [οἴ]κο(ν). Cf. 6, 19. This phrase may suggest some sort of financial office, where business payments could be made, cf. L **3593** 27–8 n.

32 The farewell formula is written bigger and perhaps done with a coarser pen. In so short and damaged a sample it is difficult to be sure whether the hand is different. If so, the main hand, which also appears in the postscript, will be that of a clerk and the principal will have written the farewell.

33–5 The connection of thought is not entirely clear, but it looks as if the evidence of Diogenes concerned something which happened in the absence of an armed escort while the sender was travelling to Dicomia.

33 προcμαρτύρη(cιν). The compound is new, cf. ἀντι-, ἐκ-, ἐπι-. In the papyri the verb προcμαρτυρέω means 'to bear witness', never 'call to witness'; in P. Ant. I 40.7 for προcεμαρ(τύρηcε) read πρὸc ἐμαί, that is, ἐὰν δὲ ἀποβληθῇ, πρὸc ἐμαὶ (= ἐμὲ) τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, 'but if it (a cloak for *uestis militaris*) is rejected, (the responsibility is to lie) on me, Apollonius'.

34 μαχαιρο(φόρους). Very little is known about these armed guards or escorts, cf. F. Preisigke, *Fachwörter* 120, F. Oertel, *Liturgie* 57, 412. The title is less common in the Roman than in the Ptolemaic period, but cf. P. Grenf. II 62.15 (AD 211).

35 Δικωμί(αν). Cf. A. Calderini, S. Daris, *Diz. dei nomi geogr.* ii 103, which doubtfully locates it in the Heracleopolite nome. All the previous examples are in documents of Arsinoite or Heracleopolite provenance.

36 The remains at the beginning of the line are very meagre. Perhaps ς[οι] gives the easiest sense. With μ[οι], superficially even more attractive, we might expect πέμψαι rather than δοῦναι.

ἱκανοδοcιῶ(ν). This noun occurs in the papyri only in SPP XX 283 (= SPP XIV Taf. X = C. Wessely, *Schrifttafeln*, p. 9 no. 14, Taf. VI).5, verso 1, cf. 6, where the Latin equivalent appears as *satisdatio*, cf. LSJ

s. v *ἱκανοδοσία*. This is of the fourth century AD. The agent noun *ἱκανοδότης* occurs in BGU IV 1189.3 (1 BC/AD 1). The verb *ἱκανοδοτέω* occurs in P. Mich. V 244.10 (AD 43), where it is garbled (*εἱκανοδοθήκαιται* = *ἱκανοδο⟨τη⟩θήσεται*?); it is restored without much warrant in P. Oxf. 6.21 (AD 350), and also appears as a participle, *ἱκανοδοτοῦντ*[(29), in II **259** (lines 1–22 = M. *Chr.* 101) of AD 23. This last is in a private letter appended to a bail contract addressed to the jailer of a city jail, called first *τῇ τοῦ Διὸς φυλακῇ* (4) and then [*τ*]*ῆς πολιτικῆς φυλα*[*κ*]*ῆς* (8). It is tempting to think that this is the prison of some city called Diospolis (*Διὸς πόλις*) and that there may be some archival connection with our document, cf. 44 n. The text was reprinted as part of the archive of Tryphon the weaver, M. Biscottini, *Aegyptus* 46 (1966) 186–9, but the connection is not clear.

τοῦ ιβ (*ἔτους*) = AD 25/6, cf. 39 n.

37–42 This sentence is the most interesting part of the document, especially because it reveals the activity of Hiberus, see 39 n., in going through the books himself. The phrasing implies that this was unusual. No doubt it was usually left to subordinates of the governor. It seems that at the time of writing he was dealing with 'the clerks of the Low country who have previously sailed downstream'. Although *γραμμ*(*ατέας*) is not unambiguous, it looks as if it refers to royal scribes, *βασιλικοὶ γραμματεῖς*, who were attending a *conuentus* held by the governor either at Alexandria itself or in some other centre convenient for 'the Low country', such as Pelusium, cf. IV **709** 4–6, 8–9. The sender of the letter feared being detained himself, presumably because he held a similar post, not necessarily in the Delta. He may have expected to be called to a session for the Heptanomia or the Thebaid. His locality is not certain, except that he was far enough south to receive news, probably from Alexandria or Pelusium, from persons 'sailing upstream'. He mentions a journey he took to Dicomia, which was north of Oxyrhynchus, see 35 n. This journey may lie in the past and be mentioned only because of some incident that took place during it in the absence of an armed guard, see 30–5 n. Dicomia was not a nome capital, so it would be unlikely that an official of middle rank, such as a royal scribe, would spend much time there. In 44–5 he refers to 'Diopolite affairs', which may suggest that he was posted to one of the three nome capitals called Diospolis, see 44 n. In a badly damaged patch in 43 I have restored *κατα*[*πλ*]*εῦσαι*, because the writer expected to be detained like the *πρόκατα πεπλευκότας γραμμ*(*ατέας*) and therefore presumably expected to 'sail down'. If that is correct, one of the two places called Diospolis in the Thebaid is more likely to be meant than Lower Diospolis, which lay in the Delta due east of Alexandria and from which the journey would be too complicated to describe in this routine fashion.

39 The *Κάτω χώρα* was roughly the Delta, although it included certain areas 'west of the Canopic and east of the Pelusiac branches' of the Nile, see J. D. Thomas, *The Roman Epistrategos* 16–17.

For the rare name Hiberus see I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* 199.

There seems no doubt that this Hiberus is to be identified with the governor of Egypt mentioned by Philo, *In Flaccum* 2 and Cassius Dio LVIII 19.6 (Boiss. ii p. 607). The Philo passage stands as follows:

ὁ Φλάκκος οὖν οὗτος . . . μετὰ τὴν Ἰβήρου (*Ἰβήρου* S. Reiter *βήρου* G *εβήρου* ceteri (v.), see Philo, ed. Cohn VI p. 120.12) *τελευτήν, ὃς ἐπετέτραπτο Αἴγυπτον, καθίσταται τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐπίτροπος.*

Therefore Hiberus died in office and was replaced by Flaccus. Philo also tells us that Flaccus served six years in all, five in the lifetime of Tiberius, one till Gaius dismissed him (*In Fl.* 8), so that he must have taken office in about AD 32.

The emendation of the name in Philo's text rests on Dio LVIII 19.6 *κἀν τούτῳ Οὐιτρασίου Πωλίωνος τοῦ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἄρχοντος τελευτήσαντος Ἰβήρῳ* (l. *Ἰβ-*) *τινὶ Καισαρείῳ χρόνον τινὰ τὸ ἔθνος ἐπέτρεψε* (sc. *ὁ Τιβέριος*).

In the modern literature Hiberus is assigned a short prefecture or vice-prefecture confined to AD 32, say therefore in 18 Tiberius, AD 31/2 and/or 19 Tiberius, AD 32/3. Here, however, the writer is interested in the 'register of sureties for year 12' (line 36) = AD 25/6, and Hiberus is going through the books for 'the three-year period'. It is probable that year 12 is over and that the register for AD 25/6 is complete, placing the date of this document at the earliest probably in year 13, AD 26/7. We could even allow that year 12 was the first of 'the three-year period', years 12–14, and so assume that the date of the letter might be as late as early in year 15, AD 28/9, but it would be hard to credit that the date of the letter might be as late as year 18 or 19.

We may now turn to another puzzling document, dated 29 August, AD 28, the first day of 15 Tiberius.

It is a dedication on behalf of Tiberius, Livia, and their *domus*, to Heracles Callinicus and Ammon in the Small Oasis, *BIFAO* 73 (1973) 183, Pl. XV:

ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκρά]*τ*[*ορος Τιβε-*
ρίου Καίσαρος] *Σεβαστοῦ κ*[*αὶ*
Ἰο]*υ*[*λίας Σεβαστῆς καὶ τοῦ οἴκου*
α]*ὐ*[*τῶν ἐπ*[*ὶ*] *Ποπλίου Φ*[*λα*]*υίου*
5 *Ο*]*ὐήρου Ἡρακλείδης Ἡρακλείδου*
Εὐσέβειος στρατηγὸς Ἡρακλεῖ
Κ[*αλλινε*[*ί*]*κωι καὶ Ἄμμωνι*
θεοῖς συννάοις ἀνέθηκεν.
(ἔτους) ιε Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
10 *μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ α.*

It is common in parallel passages of dedications of this kind to find that *ἐπί* introduces the name of the prefect of Egypt, although in only one other example (SB V 8897; AD 12) does he occur without a title, see G. Bastianini, *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* iii 1338. Now that the new papyrus gives us some reason to look for Hiberus at a date earlier than was expected, we must wonder whether to restore his name in this inscription. The published plate seems to show only damage to the left of the first eta in line 5, so that ..]*ηρου* is the real point of departure. Moreover the eta is well to the left of the upright of the tau of *α*]*ὐτῶν* in 4; in fact, the upright of tau in that line is in the same vertical alignment as the upright of the rho in the line below. Similarly, the first sigma of *Εὐσέβειος* in line 6 begins slightly to the right of the first upright of the eta of ..]*ηρου* in 5. In other words, the two letters missing in line 5 occupied much less space than *α*]*ὐ-* in 4 and slightly less space than *Εὐ-* in 6. Omicron in this script is a fairly broad letter, so that *Οὐ*]- would have been much too wide. On the other hand, since iota is narrow, *Ἰβ*]- would be very suitable. The combination occurs twice in *Τιβερίου* (1, 9), which is useful for comparison. There are numerous examples of omicron upsilon too.

One objection to this view is that Dio calls Hiberus a *Καισάρειος*, that is, an imperial freedman, which is not obvious from the nomenclature P. Flavius Hiberus. Dessau had plausibly suggested that M. Antonius Hiberus, consul of AD 133, possibly the same as Antonius Hiberus, governor of Moesia Inferior under Pius or Marcus and Verus, was a descendant of this governor of Egypt, whom he took to have been a freedman of Antonia Drusi, see PIR² I A.836, 837. I know of no P. Flavius whose freedmen might have entered the *familia Caesaris* and indeed Publius is rarely found with Flavius.

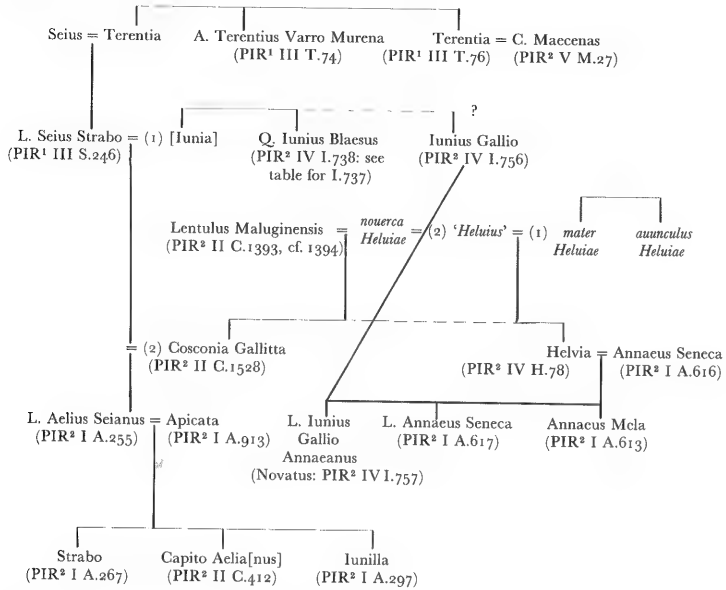
Another objection is that the younger Seneca says that the husband of his mother's stepsister had been prefect of Egypt for sixteen years. In recent times this prefect has been identified with C. Galerius, attested by documents in AD 23 only, but presumed to have served from AD 16 to 31, cf. C. Balconi, *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* iii 1100–5. If Hiberus was in place by AD 28/9, no opening remains anywhere for a prefecture of sixteen years. The figure of sixteen years appears twice in the *Consolatio ad Heluiam*, 19.6.

To escape these difficulties we might argue that Hiberus was appointed, perhaps as a vice-prefect rather than a prefect, precisely because he was already in the country in some other capacity when the prefect died, and that the references in the letter and in the inscription, neither of which gives a title, belong to his earlier activities.

However, in spite of the difficulties and uncertainties, I believe that the straightforward view of the documentary evidence is that Hiberus was already governing the country on 29 August, AD 28, and that we should regard the figures in the manuscripts of Seneca as corrupt, perhaps for *sex* or *septem*, even though at some stage the two occurrences must have been reconciled. Various views of the palaeography might be taken, e.g. SEX → SE X → SE DECEM → SEDECIM?; VI → ⟨X⟩VI?; SEPTEM → SE//IM → SE⟨DECI⟩M? Or, since the good behaviour of the prefect's wife obviously increases in merit with the length of his term, someone may have thought that a higher figure was needed.

This opens up the interesting, but complicated, prospect of considering on other grounds with which prefect of Egypt Seneca might have been distantly connected. Since one of the candidates is very much more interesting than the others, namely L. Seius Strabo, the father of Sejanus, it seems tempting to pursue the investigation of this possibility, even though it ends as speculation. A political link with Sejanus has been argued by Z. Stewart, 'Sejanus, Gaetulicus, and Seneca', *AJP* 74 (1953) 70–85.

By the flexible standards of Roman prosopographical studies a case could be put for a family tree somewhat on the following lines:



For more detail, e.g. on a possible first marriage of Iunia and on the Lentuli Maluginenses see R. Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy*, Table XXIII with pp. 300–12.

It has been maintained recently that Seius Strabo never was prefect of Egypt, see J. Schwartz, *ZPE* 48 (1982) 192; D. Hennig, *L. Aelius Seianus* 7–8, but we learn from Dio (LVII 19.6) that Sejanus became sole prefect of the praetorian guard when Strabo, his colleague, was sent to Egypt, and it is hard to accept that an ex-praetorian prefect could be sent by Tiberius to Egypt for any other purpose than to be governor of the province. Unfortunately there are as yet no documents from Egypt to confirm this. The emended text of Pliny, *NH* 36.197, where '*in hereditate eius qui praefuerat Aegypto*' has become '*⟨S⟩ei{us} qui*' (O. Hirschfeld, *Hermes* 8 (1874) 473) or '*⟨Sei⟩ eius qui*' (M. Hertz), although very plausible, especially since Tiberius is the emperor mentioned, cannot afford proof.

That he married a Junia is indicated by the description of Q. Iunius Blaesus as the *auunculus*, mother's brother, of Sejanus (Tac., *Ann.* 3.35, 72; 4.26) and by the name of the daughter of Sejanus, Junilla (CIL XIV 4533 ii 20). It is more debatable whether it suits the phrase of Velleius Paterculus, 2.127 *Seianum . . . materno . . . genere . . . clarissimas uetereseque et insignes honoribus complexum familias*. If this is not mere flattery, Blaesus must have been well born, not a new man, as has been thought (R. Syme, *Roman Revolution* 363 n. 1).

No connection between Junius Blaesus and Junius Gallio has been suggested before. Gallio was a senator, an orator, and a friend of the elder Seneca, whose eldest son he adopted. The connection becomes

really plausible only if the connection between the Senecas and Seius Strabo is approved, see below. He has been thought to be a Spaniard, chiefly because of his friendship with the elder Seneca and a possible allusion in Statius, but see M. Griffin's remarks in *JRS* 62 (1972) 12 n. 131, 'That Gallio was Spanish is a conjecture, P.-W. x 1035 ff.: the Gallio in Statius, *Silvae* ii, 7, 32 is probably his adopted son, to whom the epithet 'dulcis' was appropriate (cf. Seneca, *NQ* iv, pref. 11)'. See also Griffin, *Seneca* 32 n. 5. The latest commentary, H.-J. Van Dam, *Statius, Silvae II*, p. 469, does not even consider the possibility that our orator is meant. Gallio fell from favour shortly after Sejanus; Tiberius called him a *satelles Seiani* (Tac. *Ann.* 6.3), which sits well with *auunculus Seiani* for Blaesus. Although a senator he never became consul and so Velleius' remark that Sejanus had 'brothers, cousins, and a maternal uncle of consular rank' (2.127) does not exclude his being the brother of Blaesus, but of course any reasonably close relationship would equally suit my point here.

Sejanus was born at Vulsinii (Tac. *Ann.* 4.1, cf. 6.8 *Seianum Uulsiniensem*, 4.3 *municipali adultero*). Although D. Hennig, *L. Aelius Seianus* 10–11 n. 31, minimizes this and emphasizes his property and freedmen in Ostia (cf. p. 6), important inscriptions attest Seii in Vulsinii, see M. Corbier, *MEFRA* 95 (1983) 719–56, and there is one from there in which it would be perverse to reject the restoration [*Str*]*aboni*[[*pra*]*efecto*, [*pra*]*etori*[*i*] (CIL XI 2707). In the light of this it has been traditional, but not uncontested, see Hennig, op. cit. 9–10, to supply Seius Strabo's name at the head of a broken building inscription (*CIL* XI 7285 = *ILS* III ii 8996; photo in Corbier, art. cit. 750):

praefectus Aegypt[*i et*]
Terentia A. f. mater eiu[*s et*]
Cosconia Lentulii (sic) *Malug*[*inensis f.*]
Gallitta uxor eius . . . (*balneum . . . ded*[*erunt*]).

The only alternative name yet suggested is that of Caecina Tuscus, of unknown *origo*, prefect of Egypt AD 63–4, see G. V. Sumner, *Phoenix* 19 (1965) 134–45, against which it can be said that the son of the consul of AD 10 did not necessarily have the *cognomen* Maluginensis and that Terentia *Auli filia*, seemingly a well born lady, becomes the *nutrix* of Nero, see M. Corbier, *MEFRA* 95 (1983) 751–3.

If the prefect is Seius Strabo, his mother was a Terentia, sometimes identified as daughter of Aulus Terentius Varro, sister of A. Terentius Varro Murena and of the Terentia who was married to Maecenas, see R. Syme, *Roman Revolution* 358 and Table VI. This might illuminate the promotion of Strabo by Augustus, see Corbier, art. cit. 751.

His wife, at this latest stage of his career, was now a daughter of Lentulus Maluginensis, presumably the father of the Ser. Lentulus Maluginensis who was a suffect consul in AD 10. It has been suggested that she had been adopted by a Cosconius (PIR² II C. 1393) or that she was named after her mother according to a custom thought to be Etruscan (G. V. Sumner, *Phoenix* 19 (1965) 138). Of course, if Cosconia Gallitta were the mother of Sejanus, the remarks of Velleius on his splendid maternal ancestry would be justified. Cornelii Lentuli appear prominently in the consular lists of the reign of Tiberius. But she would then seem to be a sister of Q. Iunius Blaesus. This is not impossible, but it piles up the anomalies of nomenclature and the hypotheses of complicated webs of adoption. At this point it is worth noting that Iunius Blaesus was the colleague of Ser. Lentulus Maluginensis in his suffect consulship of AD 10, so that we are certainly searching in the same circles of society.

Seneca's account of his distant connection with a prefect of Egypt mentions no names. It occurs in the essay of consolation addressed to his mother. Her name is known only from the variously phrased titles in the medieval manuscripts of this work as Helvia (*Helbiam A, R*; *Helbiae V*), and since this is also the name attributed to Cicero's mother (Euseb. *Chron.* ed. Helm p. 148 = Schoene ii 131; Plut. *Cic.* 1.1), it may not be above suspicion, but fortunately this is not relevant to the present inquiry. She was the only child of her father (*Consol. ad Heluiam* 18.9 *. . . patrem cogita. Cui tu quidem tot nepotes pronepotesque dando effecisti ne unica esses*). Her father was still alive, presumably at an advanced age, when Seneca, born *c.*4–1 BC, was exiled by Claudius (ibid. 18.9 *Illo uiuo nefas est te quod uixeris queri*). Her mother had died at or shortly after her birth and she had been brought up by a stepmother (ibid. 2.4 *amisisti matrem statim nata, immo dum nasceris . . . Creuisti sub nouerca . . .*). She had a sister slightly older than herself, who must have been a stepsister since Helvia was the only child of her father, see above (ibid. 19.1 *. . . sororem tuam . . . in huius primum respirasti sinu . . .*). The stepsister married a man who became prefect of Egypt (ibid. 19.6 *. . . Aegyptum maritus eius optinuit . . .*). She had not been married before (*cui uirgo nupserit* ibid. 19.4). She

accompanied him for the whole of his term in Egypt, sixteen years according to the manuscripts, and lived there in decent obscurity without incurring any reproach (ibid. 19.6).

Confusion has been caused by the passage in which Seneca calls the prefect, the husband of his mother's stepsister, *auunculum nostrum* (ibid. 19.4), since technically *auunculus* means only 'maternal uncle'. The family tree constructed by P. Moreau, *Mélanges . . . P. Wuilleumier* 248, to show how Helvia's stepsister's husband could in fact have been a maternal uncle of Seneca does not satisfy the condition that the stepsister should be perceptibly older than Helvia, see 19.1, quoted above. On the affectionate overtones of the word *auunculus* see M. Bettini, *Sodalitas: Scritti . . . A. Guarini* ii 855–80. He recalls that the social relationship of a son with his father 'did not belong to the domain of affection, but to that of etiquette and honour' (858, cf. 856); the same applied to *patrui*, paternal uncles (870, 878). On the other hand affection was entirely appropriate between a young man and his grandfathers on both sides (*aui*), his mother, and his mother's brothers (*auunculi*, 'little grandfathers'; 869). We can compare the emphasis placed on the blow suffered by Helvia when she lost her *auunculum indulgentissimum* (ibid. 2.4). The prefect stood in no easily and shortly definable relationship to Seneca, but it is as natural in the circumstances for him to call the prefect 'our uncle' as it is for him to call the prefect's wife 'your sister' rather than 'the daughter of your stepmother'. Of course overtones of this kind are entirely absent when Tacitus calls Iunius Blaesus '*auunculus Seiani*'.

The prefect died on the return voyage (19.4 *in ipsa quidem nauigatione*); his wife braved danger to bring his body home for burial, a victim of total or partial shipwreck (19.4 *euictisque tempestatibus corpus eius naufraga euexit*). Seneca saw her exemplary behaviour in bereavement (19.4 *exemplum . . . cuius ego etiam spectator fui*, cf. 19.7). This is usually taken to mean that he had been to Egypt and shared the disastrous voyage, but there is no convincing suggestion of first hand acquaintance with Egypt in the rest of his work, so that perhaps his visit should be doubted. The prefect's wife had known Seneca as a child, she had brought him to Rome in her arms, nursed him through a long illness and canvassed for his quaestorship, overcoming her usual modest and retiring disposition to the point of being ambitious on his behalf (19.2).

The date of his quaestorship is unknown, but worth discussion, cf. M. Griffin, *Seneca* 43–5. He was born about 4–1 BC (Griffin, *Seneca* 35–6). The office could not be held till the age of twenty-four, not by Seneca therefore before about AD 20–3. On the accepted view the prefect's wife was in Egypt from AD 16 to AD 31; she could hardly have canvassed for him in the way he describes till later. If there is anything at all in the suggestion of involvement with Sejanus, the years AD 32–7 would have been unfavourable to his holding office. In the first few years of Gaius the associates of Sejanus were favoured again, according to Stewart, *AJP* 74 (1953) 75–7, so that these years are possible, although there is a story that Seneca attracted the disfavour of Gaius at some stage, perhaps in AD 39 (Dio LIX 19.7; Griffin, *Seneca* 53–6). In AD 41, early in the reign of Claudius, Seneca was exiled for complicity in the immoral behaviour of Julia Livilla, sister of Gaius. He held a praetorship in AD 50, shortly after his recall.

If, however, the prefect was Seius Strabo, who went to Egypt after Q. Magius Maximus, still in office sometime in AD 14/15 (*BIFAO* 70 (1971) 21–9 = *AE* 1982 no. 912), and Strabo had a term of six or seven years, ending obviously before February/March AD 23, when C. Galerius is attested (IGRR I 1150 = SB V 8317), then his widow can have canvassed for Seneca when he was about the regular age for the office and we can attribute his failure to go on to the praetorship to the fall of Sejanus in AD 31. The optimum ages for the quaestorship and the praetorship were twenty-four and twenty-nine, but no precise arguments can be elicited from that. If the prefect's widow is to be identified with Cosconia Gallitta, her influence as the daughter of Lentulus Maluginensis as well as the stepmother of Sejanus will indeed have been important for Seneca.

Below is a list of prefects for the reign of Tiberius according to the arguments presented above. It is in skeleton form: references not significant for the dates are to be found in G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 269–71; 38 (1980) 76.

Q. Magius Maximus	Last attested in 1 Tiberius = AD 14/15 (*BIFAO* 70 (1971) 21–9 = *AE* 1982 no. 912).
L. Seius Strabo	Dio LVII 19.6; (probably Pliny *NH* 36.197; CIL XI 7285 = ILS III 8996; Seneca, *Cons. ad Heluiam* 19.6). There are no objective dates; perhaps in office for six or seven years, *per* †*sedecim*† *annos*, Seneca, loc. cit.
C. Galerius	First attested February–March AD 23 (IGR I 1150 (= SB V 8317).2). Last attested 27 August, AD 23 (SB III 7256.3–4).
Vitrasius Pollio?	Dio LVIII 19.6. There are no documentary dates. The predecessor of Hiberus.
P. Flauius [Hib]erus	29 August, AD 28 (*BIFAO* 73 (1973) 183 9). (Dio LVIII 19.6; Philo, *In Flaccum* 2).
A. Auillius Flaccus	First attested in a document 9 August, AD 34 (WO 1372 (= W. *Chr.* 414).4). The successor of Hiberus, Philo, *In Fl.*, 2. Philo says that he served for six years, five under Tiberius, which implies his entry to office in AD 32.

There remains unplaced an Aemilius Rectus whom Dio, LVII 10.5, names as a prefect of Egypt instructed by Tiberius to shear his sheep, not shave them. Some suspicion attaches to the story because L. Aemilius Rectus is well attested in office by documents of AD 41 and 42. A similar suspicion falls on Vitrasius Pollio because C. Vitrasius Pollio is attested in office by documents of 28 April, AD 39 and of AD 39/40. For the moment we cannot be certain in rejecting either, but iteration in the prefecture of Egypt is attested for certain once only, in the reign of Constantine, for Flauius Philagrius (PLRE I 694), and the dates are rather close to suit the hypothesis of father and son in these cases, though it may fit the homonyms T. Flauius Titianus, AD 126–32 and 164–8.

40 *τῆς τριετίας*. Cf. 39 n., for the possibility that this three year period included year 12. The *τριετία* seems to have had some conceptual currency as the ideal duration of office for a strategus of a nome or a magistrate of Alexandria or for a public service appointment, but it cannot be observed in practice, see G. Chalon, *L'édit de Tiberius Julius Alexander* 181–2. Here we have the severely practical matter of an audit covering the books of a three year period, but there may possibly be some connection with the offices of (royal?) scribe or practor or toparch mentioned above.

41 *ἐκεῖ* means wherever Hiberus was conducting his audit, perhaps, therefore, Alexandria or Pelusium, see 37–42 n.

42 For *χάρτης* meaning 'papyrus roll' see N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* 70–8.

43 *ἐπὶ τῷ με μέλλειν*. The disyllabic 'emphatic' form *ἐμέ* is usually employed as the subject before the verb, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 162 a. 3, n. 1. In this case the preceding vowel may have had an influence; it may be a case of aphaeresis, i.e. *τῷ 'μὲ μ.*, cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 319–20.

κατα[πλ]εῦσαι. This is a doubtful reading, but seems to fit what can be gathered of the circumstances, see 37–42 n.

44 *Διοπολιτικῷ(ν)*. See J. D. Thomas, *JEA* 50 (1964) 139–43 for the three cities called Diospolis, cf. H. Gauthier, *Les nomes d'Egypte*, Pls. IV, V (maps). Either Diospolis Magna (Thebes) or Diospolis Parva (Hiw), both in the Thebaid, would suit my restoration of *κατα[πλ]εῦσαι* in 43, while Lower Diospolis (*Διὸς πόλις Κάτω*; El Balamun) offers a connection with the *Κάτω χώρα* but would not suit 43; see 37–42 n. for the argument in favour of this interpretation of the remains.

45 Perhaps *πραγμάτων* means 'troubles', but the context is not clear enough to be sure.

The translation of the last sentence is based on guessing *μεταμέλεσθε* for the end of the line, but the traces are too scanty to confirm it. Perhaps we should rather recognize *με* after *ὑμεῖς*.

3808. Demas(?) to Agathodaemon

38 3B.85/E(1–4)d 14.5 × 19 cm First/second century

Demas, who was away from home, wrote to Agathodaemon telling him to supervise some farm work and to see to a transaction involving a quantity of jars. He was to report any neglect in the farm work to a teacher (*καθηγητής*), which seems to imply that Agathodaemon was still young enough to be continuing his education. He is addressed as 'brother' (2, 18), but *φίλωι* in the address (19), and the endorsement, *ἀπὸ Δημᾶ φίλου* (19–20), suggest that the relationship was not by blood, see 2 n., cf. **3812** 17 n., **3813–15** introd. para. 2, **3819** introd., **3820** 1 n.

There are seven vertical folds dividing the letter into eight panels, the one on the left very narrow. The letter was evidently rolled up with the left edge inside and then squashed into a flat spill. The exposed right edge was tucked into the package for

protection. Line 19, the address, was written downwards along the fibres on one side of the spill, on the back of what is now the third panel from the right, as viewed from the front. It was written with a wide gap between *Δ]ạ́μωνι* and *φίλωι*, so as to leave room for a binding to encircle the middle of the package. Lines 20–1, *ἀπὸ Δημᾶ | φίλου*, were written on the lower half of the other side of the spill, on the back of what is now the second panel from the right viewed from the front. They are written on a smaller scale, probably in a second hand, and instead of being parallel with the sides of the package rise fairly steeply, at about 45° from the horizontal. They may be part of the address, but probably they are an endorsement put on by the recipient to identify it from the outside.

The script seems to belong to the early second century or to the late first. It is practised but looks rapid and untidy, chiefly perhaps because in parts the letters slope forward and in other parts are decidedly backhand.

Δημᾶc ?] Ἀγαθ[ῷ Δαί]μωνι τῷ
ἀδελ]φῷ χ[αίρειν.] (vac.)
(vac.)
πρὸ τῶν ὅλων ἐρρ[ῶcθαί c]ε εὔχομαι.
ὡς καὶ κατ'ὄψιν cε ἤ[τηc]α, καὶ νῦν coι
γράφω ἐπιcχεῖν τοῖc ἔργοιc τοῖc ἐν ἀ-
γρῷ ἵνα μὴ ἀμεληθῇ κἄν τι ἦν ἀμε-
λούμενον, δήλωcον τῷ καθηγη-
τῇ. ἔγραψα δὲ αὐτῷ ἵνα τὸ τῶν
κενωμάτων τὸ πρὸc 'Ηρακλῆ'ν' ἀπαρ-
τίcῃ μετὰ cῆc γνώμηc. ἀcφα-
λιcάcθω οὖν αὐ[τ]ὸν ὡc ὑπέcχου μοι,
ἵνα ἐλθὼν εἰc τὸν καιρὸν ἀποκριθῇ
ἡμεῖν καὶ μὴ χείρων τοῦ πέρυcι γένηται.
ἄcπαcαι Χ̣ελε̣..ρ̣αν καὶ ἔντειλαι αὐ-
τῷ περὶ τῶν χλωρῶν τοῦ ἔλουc. ἄc-
παcαι Δημήτριον τὸν φύλακα καὶ τὰ
[π]α̣ι̣[δ]ί̣α̣ α̣ὐ̣τοῦ. (vac.)
(vac.) *ἔρρωco ἄδελφε.*

Back, downwards along the fibres:

Ἀγαθῷ Δ]ạ́μωνι (vac.) *φίλωι.*
(vac.) (m. 2) *ἀπὸ Δημᾶ*
φίλου.

1 l. *Δαίμονι* 3 *ευχομαι—* 6 l. *καί, ἐάν τι ἦ* 13 l. *ἡμῖν* 19 l. *Δαίμονι*

'Demas to Agathodaemon his brother, greetings.'

'Before all I pray for your health. Just as I asked you face to face, I now write to you to attend to the work in the field so that it may not be neglected, and if anything is being neglected, tell the teacher. I wrote to him to dispatch the business of the empty jars for Heracles with your agreement. So let him make him secure, as you promised me, so that he may come at the proper time and answer to us, and not become worse than last year. Greet Ch . . . and give him instructions about the green crops in the marsh. Greet Demetrius the guard and his children.'

'Farewell brother.'

Back. 'To Agathodaemon, (my) friend.'

(2nd hand) 'From Demas, (my) friend.'

1 *Δημᾶc*? Cf. 20.

2 *ἀδελ]φῷ*. Cf. the farewell, *ἔρρωco ἄδελφε* (18), but contrast the address, *Ἀγαθῷ Δ]ạ́μωνι φίλωι* (19), and the endorsement, *ἀπὸ Δημᾶ φίλου* (20–1). Evidently 'brother' is not to be taken literally. Terms of blood relationship were very frequently used to indicate affection or respect between persons who were not related, cf. introd.

4 *ἤ[τηc]α*? Cf. XIV **1665** 4–5 *καθὼc καὶ . . . κατ' ὄψιν ἠτηcάμην*. Also possible would be e.g. *ἠ[ξίωc]α*, *ἠ[πειc]α*, 'requested, urged'.

6–7 *κἄν τι ἦν ἀμελούμενον*. For *κἄν* where we would write *καί, ἐάν* see XLVI **3285** 20 n. For the frequent use of *ἦν* as the equivalent of *ἦ* see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 405. The periphrastic form of the present subjunctive passive is perhaps to be compared with the periphrastic future *ἔcει* (= *ἔcῃ*) . . . *χαριζόμενοc*, P. Herm. Rees 9.11–13, see Gignac, op. cit. ii 289–90; cf. ibid. 305–7 on periphrastic perfects which employ perfect or aorist participles, with **3819** 14–15 and **3820** 12, 13–14.

7–8 *τῷ καθηγητῇ*. Cf. introd. The word is not common in the papyri, see XVIII **2190** 7, [15], 24, 26, 31 (the student's point of view!), P. Giss. 80.7, 11, P. Osl. III 156.1, 12, VI **930** (= W. *Chr.* 138).6, 20, P. Tebt. II 591. All these documents are undated private letters. They range roughly from about AD 100 to about AD 200, according to the assigned dates. No satisfactory picture emerges from them. The word can apply to teachers of quite advanced pupils, see **2190**, and this seems to be the case here, where the young man is old enough to supervise farm work and take part in business affairs, if not to manage them quite alone.

9 *'Ηρακλῆ'ν'*. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 71–2.

10–13 The meaning of *ἀcφαλιcάcθω* is doubtful here, see LSJ, WB s.v. *ἀcφαλίζω*, which allow 'to arrest, to safeguard, to secure oneself against'. Consequently it is not clear who is the subject in the final clauses. It may be that the teacher is to control Heracles and make sure that his behaviour improves. Alternatively, perhaps the teacher is to safeguard Heracles against some loss and so behave better himself.

14 *Χ̣ελε̣..ρ̣αν*. No such name seems to be known.

15 *τῶν χλωρῶν τοῦ ἔλουc*. The precise connotation of *χλωρά*, 'green crops', is not known, cf. L **3589** 5–9 n. The marsh was probably unsuitable for a grain crop, but usable for fodder.

20–1 Cf. Introd. The underlining of 20 goes far to the right of *Δημᾶ*, but there is clearly no writing after *-μᾶ*, which suits the damaged remains better than *-μέου* or *-μου*.

3809. Letter of a Barber

48 5B.31/C(1–6)b 8.5 × 14.5 cm Second/third century

A young barber, recently out of his apprenticeship, writes back to his old master with news of success in his job and greetings for the master and his wife and for his fellow apprentices.

The foot of the letter is lost but remains of the farewell formula survive. The beginnings of the lines are lost as well. The back is blank except for one trace of ink, which probably comes from the address which will have stood on the back of the portion lost at the left. The letter was rolled up in the usual way with the right edge

inside and then squashed flat. The papyrus has broken along the fourth fold from the right and to judge from the amount of missing text there would have been one more fold and two panels. The left-hand panel would probably have been tucked inside to protect it from damage and the address would have been written on the back of the second panel.

There is a sheet-join running vertically about 6 cm from the right edge, showing that the writing is on the recto of a piece cut from a roll in the usual way. The script looks professional, but the wording is clumsy enough to suggest that it followed the barber's dictation fairly closely.

Ἀγα]θάνγελος Πανάρι κουρῖ
] πλεῖστα χαίρειν.
ἀσπ]άζω καὶ Ἡλιοδώρα⟨ν⟩. τὸ
προ]σκύνημα ὑμῶν ποιῶ
πα]ρὰ τοῖς ἐνθάδε θεοῖς καὶ
τὸ] προσκ[ύ]νημά σου ἑκάσ-
τη]ς ἡμέρας ποιῶ. θεῶν
θε]λόντων ἤδη τὸν δεσπό-
τη]ν κίρω, καὶ τοὺς ἐνοίκους
πά]ντας κίρω. οἷαν ἡμέ-
ραν] ἐὰν κίρω, τὸ προσκύνη-
μ]α εἴωθα ποιεῖν. ἀσπάζου
τ]ὸν συνμαθητὰς πάντας.
]. . . . . [. .]. .
. . . . .

1 l. *Ἀγα]θάγγελος Πανάρει κουρεῖ* 9, 10, 11 l. *κείρω* 13 l. *συμμαθητάς*

'Agathangelus to Panares the barber, very many greetings. I salute Heliodora too. I make obeisance for both before the gods here and I make your obeisance each day. By the gods' will I am already barber to the master and I am barber to everyone in the house. Whichever day I have barber's work to do it is my custom to make the obeisance. Salute all my fellow apprentices!'

'I pray for your health!'

1 *Ἀγα]θάγγελος* and *Πυ]θάγγελος* are the known possibilities, see F. Dornseiff, B. Hansen, *Rückl. Wb. d. gr. Eigennamen* 256. In P. Lond. III 1170.614 (p. 101) *Παθάγγελος* is taken to be a mistake for *Πυθάγγελος*.

Agathangelus is a slave name in XLIV **3197** 9, 14 (two men), and may be in P. Ross. Georg. II 24.4, cf. *τοῦ δούλου* (9), and P. Tebt. II 414.32, where an Agathangelus is associated with *παιδία*. These are all the references in papyri which I know. For the possibility that our man might be a slave see 8–9 n. Pythangelus on the contrary is known particularly as the name of Ptolemaic dignitaries, e.g. W. Clarysse, G. Van Der Veken, *Eponymous Priests* (Pap. Lugd. Bat. 24) nos. 68, 78, 132, cf. W. Peremans, E. Van't Dack, *Prosop. Ptol.* ii 1998, 4425, iii 5257², vi 16298.

3 *ἀσπ]άζω*. Contrast *ἀσπάζου* (12). Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 325.

Ἡλιοδώρα⟨ν⟩. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 111–19, esp. 111. I take Heliodora to be the wife of Panares.

3–7 *τὸ [προ]σκύνημα . . . πα]ρὰ τοῖς ἐνθάδε θεοῖς*. Cf. G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 51 (1971) 3–211, esp. 189–92. Although *ἑκάς[τη]ς ἡμέρας* follows the regular formula, *οἷαν ἡμέ[ραν] ἐὰν κίρω* (10–11) suggests that he did not in fact perform the rite every day, cf. Geraci, 201–2.

8–9 *δεσπό[τη]ν*. This term rather suggests that the young barber was a slave, cf. *δουλικὰ σώματα . . . οἷς ὀνόματα . . . Νάρκισσον κουρέα* (P. Mich. V 326.8, 45), *δουλικῶν σωμάτων τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα . . . Γεμῖνον κουρέα* (XLIV **3197** 4–5, 14). Apprentices might be either free or slave; for slave apprentices cf. I. Bieżuńska-Małowist, *L'Esclavage* ii 85–7, J. A. Straus, *Historia* 26 (1977) 78. No apprentice contract for a barber (*κουρεύς*) is known to me; those for *κτενισταί* seem to concern wool-carding (Bieżuńska-Małowist 87). For apprentice barbers cf. LI p. xiv, under XXXI **2586** 7. In this case the name, Agathangelus, may help to indicate that the young barber was a slave, see 1 n.

10–11 *οἷαν ἡμέ[ραν]*. Cf. 3–7 n. For the accusative denoting a point in time cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik* ii.2 p. 332 (§ 105.2), Blass, Debrunner, Rehkopf, *Gramm. d. neutest. Griechisch*[16] 131–2 (§ 161.3 and n.).

11 For *ἐάν* in place of *ἄν* in indefinite relative clauses see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* pp. 266–7 (§§ 596–7).

14 At the end $\varphi^{\mu}_{\cdot}$, with raised mu, is fairly clear; read in full perhaps $\varepsilon\rho\rho\omega\varsigma^{\theta}\,\varepsilon[\upsilon\chi]\varphi^{\mu}_{\cdot} = \dot{\varepsilon}\rho\rho\tilde{\omega}\sigma\theta(\alpha\iota)$ $\varepsilon[\tilde{\upsilon}\chi]\circ\mu(\alpha\iota)$.

3810. Callias to Cyrilla

38 3B.86/N(1–3)a 11 × 35 cm Second/third century

A reference to an obeisance (*προσκύνημα*) before 'the lord Apis', which is only the third of its type to be published, indicates that this letter was written from Memphis, see 3–5 n. Although it is a private letter, it is interesting because it came from a man employed on public business. Callias, the sender, took orders from a royal scribe, who sent him from Memphis to Athribis and so caused him to lose contact with a certain Dioscurides. He wrote to 'the lady' Cyrilla chiefly to tell her the good news that 'the strategus was released to his strategiate', adding that Dioscurides had no more to worry about. He went on to say that one of the governor's guards (*σιγγλάριος*) came to the royal scribe and himself shared in releasing (*συναπέλυσεν*) the strategus of the Lycopolite nome and two other strategi. The simultaneous release of three district governors at Memphis significantly recalls the so-called *conventus*, a review of the affairs of the districts periodically conducted by the prefect of Egypt, see especially M. Foti-Talamanca, *Ricerche sul processo: I L'Organizzazione del 'Conventus' del 'Praefectus Aegypti'* i 31–41. Memphis is the city best documented as the seat of the *conventus*.

The letter closes with greetings to Cyrilla's household, after which, in a smaller and more rapid hand, stands a farewell formula. The main script is a very good official cursive, firmly based on the 'Chancery' style, on which see G. Cavallo, *Aegyptus* 45 (1965) 216–49, with 15 plates. Tavola 10 shows two documents, BGU I 296 of *c.*AD 219/20 and P. Lond. II 353 of AD 221, which are close to **3810**. It seems likely that the main hand is that of a clerk, possibly one who usually worked in the office of the royal scribe. The cursive farewell formula will be in that of Callias himself. The remains of the address on the back are very scanty, but they recall the clerk's hand.

A sheet-join running vertically very near the right edge shows that the piece

was cut from a roll *c.*35 cm tall and that the letter was written along the fibres of the recto. A deep horizontal crease near the middle of the sheet shows that it was folded there first. With the top half of the letter inside it was then rolled and flattened in the usual way into a flat spill about 18 × 2.5 cm, on one side of which the address was written.

Καλλίας Κυρίλλῃ τῇ κυρίᾳ
χαίρειν.
πρὸ μὲν πάντων τὸ προςκύνημα
cου ποιῶ καθ'ἑκάστην ἡμέραν
παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἄπιδι καὶ τοῦ Κυρίλλου
Διοςκορούδου καὶ τοῦ Κυρίλλου '....ου' [[....υ]]
Αποει[.]ος. πεπόμφι γάρ με ὁ βαςιλικὸς
εἰς Ἀθρῖβειν ἕνεκα ἵππου, παρῆλ-
θέν με Διοςκουρίδης. γράφω coι
οὖν, κυρία, περὶ τῆς εὐαγγελίας
ὅτι ἀπελύθη ὁ cτρατηγὸς εἰς τὴν
cτρατηγίαν. Διοςκουρίδης μὴ
ἀγωνει〈 〉 λοιπὸν περὶ μηδενός.
οὕτως γὰρ ἀcφαλῶc cιγγλάριος
ἐλθὼν τῷ βαcιλικῷ καὶ αὐτὸc cυν-
απέλυcεν τὸν cτρατηγὸν τοῦ
Λυκοπολείτου καὶ ἄλλους δύο.
ἄcπαc[αι] τοὺc ἐν οἴκῳ πάντας. γρά-
ψον μ[οι] περὶ τῆς cωτηρίας cου.
(m. 2) *ἐρρῶcθαί cε εὔχ(μαι), κυρία,*
πολλοῖc ἔτεcιν εὐτυχ(οῦcαν).

Back, upwards along the fibres:

(m. 1?) *ἀπόδοc* (plus further scanty remains)

6 l. *Διοςκουρίδου?* 7 l. *πεπόμφει* 8 l. *Ἀθρῖβιν* 13 l. *ἀγωνιᾷ* (subj.) or *ἀγωνιάτω* 17 l. *Λυκοπολίτου* 20 *ευχ̄* 21 *ευτυ^χ*

'Callias to Cyrilla, (his) lady, greetings.'

'Before all I make your obeisance every day before the lord Apis and (that) of Cyrillus son of Dioscurides(?) and of the other(?) Cyrillus, son of A . . . For the royal scribe had sent me to Athribis on account of a horse, (so that?) Dioscurides got ahead of me. So I write to you, my lady, about the good news that the strategus was released to his strategiate. Dioscurides should not worry any more about anything. For just so a *singularis* came safely to the royal scribe and himself helped to release the strategus of the Lycopolite nome and two others. Greet all those in the household. Write to me how you are.'

'I pray for your health, lady, for many years in prosperity.'

'Deliver to . . .'

3–5 Cf. G. Geraci, 'Ricerche sul Proskynema', *Aegyptus* 51 (1971) 3–211, and esp. 185–6 for the two earlier examples associated with Apis, SB VIII 9903 (= E. G. Turner, *Rech. Pap.* 2 (1962) 117–21 = I **160** description), and SB VIII 9930 (= id., *Festschrift Oertel*, 32–3). It was clearly the custom to invoke the local god. Memphis is specifically mentioned in SB 9903.

5–7 The ends of the lines are badly abraded and there is a hole near the beginnings. I think two persons called Cyrillus, probably related to Cyrilla, were associated with her in the obeisances to Apis. They are distinguished by patronymics and I think that the second one was described as *ἄλλου*, which was struck through and replaced by *ἑτέρου* above the line. (I should perhaps say that neither in 5 nor in 6 is it possible to read *τοῦ κυρίου μου* in place of *τοῦ Κυρίλλου*.) *Διοςκορούδου* (6) looks like an erroneous mixture of two common names, *Διόςκορος* and *Διοςκουρίδης*. I should think *Διοςκουρίδου* was intended, and possibly he was the same man who is mentioned in 9 and 12. *Αποει[.]ος* (gen.) seems to be unknown; *ἀπό* remains possible, but a suitable place name is equally elusive. I do not think that it is possible to read nu for epsilon iota, to give *ἀπόν[τ]ος*.

7 *βαςιλικός*, sc. *γραμματεύς*. Cf. 15.

8 *Ἀθρῖβειν* = *Ἀθρῖβιν*. Cf. A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici*, I i 32–3. It was a nome capital in the Delta about fifty or sixty kilometres north of Memphis.

ἵππου. I believe that *ἵππου* is correctly read and that the clerk lost track of the grammar. He may have forgotten that he had just written *πεπόμφει γάρ* and thought that he had written *ἐπεὶ πεπόμφει*; or he may have left out *ὥcτε* after *ἵππου*. There may also be the possibility of putting the punctuation before *ἕνεκα ἵππου*, assuming a harsh asyndeton, 'For the royal scribe had sent me to Athribis. Because of (his) horse D. got ahead of me'. On the whole this seems less likely to me.

(Mr Parsons points out that 'anticipatory' *γάρ* is sometimes used to mean 'since, as' in a way which could suit this passage exactly, see J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* 69–70. If this is what Callias wrote and meant to write, it is noteworthy in a papyrus letter. In that case translate, 'Since the royal scribe sent me . . ., D. got ahead of me'.)

9–12 I take it that this means that the prefect's review of the business of the district had been terminated and that no blame had fallen on the strategus, cf. introd.

12–13 Since the negative is *μή*, it seems that *ἀγωνει* must represent *ἀγωνει〈ᾷ〉* = *ἀγωνιᾷ* (3rd pers. sing. pres. subj.) or *ἀγωνει〈άτω〉* = *ἀγωνιάτω*. Dioscurides, therefore, was in touch with Cyrilla. He had either passed through Memphis while Callias was away or had simply left Memphis before Callias got back from Athribis, see 7–9. Cf. 14–17 n.

14 *cιγγλάριος* = *cιγγουλάριος* = (*eques*) *singularis*. See especially M. P. Speidel, *Guards of the Roman Armies. An essay on the singulares of the provinces*. For papyrus references see S. Daris, *Lessico Latino*, s.v. *cιγγουλάριος*; add P. Lond. V 1755.6; 1756.9; 1757.6 (with J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 197–8); CPR VII 24 *verso* 12; 26.26 (with J. Gascou, *CE* 54 (1979) 340 and 58 (1983) 229); P. Sorbonne inv. 2291.5–7 (M. Drew-Bear, *CE* 54 (1979) 291–303). The provincial *singulares* formed a corps of guards for the governor, who often entrusted individuals with special duties, see Speidel, op. cit. 44. Here the duty seems to be that of messenger, an aspect which is prominent in the late period, fourth to seventh centuries, when their service had degenerated into a civilian *militia officialis*, cf. Keenan, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 197 n. 2, Drew-Bear, *CE* 54 (1979) 295–6. There is allegedly one eighth-century reference, but it may be wondered whether *cιγ( )* in P. Apoll. Ano 83.5 is certainly relevant. May it not be, for example, merely a phonetic version of *ζυγ(οστάτου)*, which appears in the parallel line 1? See F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 120.

For the syncopated form *cιγγλάριος* see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 309, cf. 219 for the commoner *cιγγουλάριος*.

14–17 Since the agent was one of the prefect's guards, it is plain that the strategus was released by the prefect. See introd. for the *conventus* as the probable occasion of the release. The royal scribe is presumably the same one from whom Callias took orders (7–8). The guard seems to have conveyed to the royal scribe the order to release the strategus of the Lycopolite nome and presumably this is the strategus already referred to in 11. Does this mean that the strategus of the Lycopolite was not present in Memphis? Could he be the Dioscurides who was to be relieved by the good news that the strategus had been released?

In that case it would seem that the strategus 'got ahead of' Callias by leaving Memphis while he was at Athribis. Dioscurides went to somewhere near Cyrilla, who was presumably in Oxyrhynchus, where the letter was found. By this string of conjectures we arrive at the following situation: Dioscurides was an Oxyrhynchite serving as a strategus in the Lycopolite nome, according to the rule whereby strategi and royal scribes in this period had to be recruited from outside the district, see J. G. Tait, *JEA* 8 (1922) 166–73. He and his royal scribe, in whose service Callias was, went to Memphis to attend the *conventus* for the districts of the Thebaid, cf. M. Foti-Talamanca, *Ricerche sul processo* i 31–5. Dioscurides, leaving the royal scribe to represent the nome, went to Oxyrhynchus before the prefect's review was finished and at a moment when Callias was doing an errand for the royal scribe at Athribis. The prefect was satisfied of the good conduct of the affairs of the Lycopolite even in the absence of the strategus and sent his guard to inform the royal scribe that the strategus was 'released'.

If we look for evidence of Lycopolite strategi from Oxyrhynchus, see G. Bastianini, J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* (Pap. Brux. XV) 77–8, we find one candidate in XLIV **3167** addressed to [*c.*6]*δηι στρατηγῶι Λυκοπολείτου* [(line 2) and datable between 24 September, AD 195, a retrospective date given internally (**3167** 18–19), and 4 November, AD 197, by which time Caracalla is known to have entered the dating clauses (VI **910** 42–7). The damaged date clause of **3167** 18–20 refers to Septimius Severus alone. The document was found at Oxyrhynchus, but entirely concerns the Lycopolite nome, so that it may well be an item brought back by an Oxyrhynchite who served as strategus in the Lycopolite, cf. Tait, *JEA* 8 (1922) 169–71, esp. 170 § 15. There are about seven pages of names ending in *-δης* in F. Dornseiff, B. Hansen, *Rückl. Wb. d. gr. Eigennamen* 149–56, so that *Διοσκουρί*]*δηι* would not be by any means a certain restoration, but it is at least a possibility that **3167** and **3810** refer to the same person.

All this is, of course, highly conjectural. If it is right, there is no need for Callias or his superior the royal scribe to have any Oxyrhynchite connections.

17 *καὶ ἄλλους δύο*. Presumably the royal scribe had nothing to do with these other strategi, who are simply tacked on to the sentence, as having received their dismissal from the same messenger.

22 Although faint, *ἀπόδος* is certain. After that, we expect something like *Κυρίλλῃ π(αρὰ) Καλλίου*, possibly with a design, cf. XLVIII **3396** 32 n., before *π(αρά)*. I cannot discern this wording in the scanty traces and *Καλλίου* may have been followed by a title or other description, since the remains are spread over an unexpectedly long line and the final letters might be read as *-ατου*.

3811. Business Letter

38 3B.83/D(1–2)a 14 × 13 cm Third century

Terse and businesslike, this letter is wholly concerned with the single matter of getting a builder to stack and fire some bricks.

The writing runs along the fibres, but the roughness of this surface suggests that it was the verso of the original roll from which the piece was cut. There is no sheet-join surviving to confirm this opinion. There seems to have been no address on the back, but rather remains of writing which has been washed out deliberately, giving the impression that there was a text here rather similar in layout to the surviving letter. This writing ran across the fibres of what is judged to be the recto, contrary to the usual custom. All this suggests that the sheet had been used even earlier and that the surviving letter is perhaps the third text to have been written on it.

The script is a practised upright cursive, decorated by thick serifs. It seems to imitate good official hands of the third century, such as LI **3614** (Pl. V).

Ὡρείων Παγένει χαίρειν.
εἰ ἔτι Πινουτίων ὁ οἰκοδόμος παρὰ
σοί ἐστιν, ἀναγκαίως πρότρεψαι αὐ-
τόν, τοῦ δικαίου μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ λαμ-
βάνοντος, στοιβάσαι καὶ ὑποκαῦ-
σαι τὴν ὀπτόπλινθον Εὐδαί-
μονος τοῦ πατρὸς Πλωτείνου.
ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐν παρέργῳ σχῇς. ἀναγ-
καίως γενέσθω τὸ ἔργον. ἡ δὲ ὀ-
πτόπλινθος ἐν ἐποικίῳ ἐστὶν
Οὐάλεντος. ἔρρωσο.

1 l. *Ὡρίων* 3 *αναγ'καιως* 5 *ὑποκαυ* 7 l. *Πλωτίνου* 8 *αναγ'*

'Horion to Pagenes, greetings. If Pinution the builder is still with you, press him urgently to stack and fire the burnt-brick of Eudaemon the father of Plotinus, for the proper wage, which he will receive himself. Do not treat (this) as a side-issue. Get the job done urgently. The burnt-brick is in the farmstead of Valens. Farewell.'

4–5 *τοῦ δικαίου μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ λαμβάνοντος*. This can, with difficulty, be taken as it stands, 'at the proper (rate of) pay, himself receiving', i.e. 'for the proper wage, which he will receive himself'. Alternatively, we might emend to *τὸν δίκαιον μισθόν* or *τοὺς δικαίους μισθούς*, but the genitive of price looks as if it was part of the sentence as originally formulated, while *αὐτοῦ λαμβάνοντος* may have been an afterthought.

5–6 *στοιβάσαι καὶ ὑποκαῦσαι τὴν ὀπτόπλινθον*. One thinks first of the bricks being stacked in a kiln, but it is also possible to stack bricks loosely, leaving tunnels at the foot of the stack to be filled with combustibles, which are then set alight to fire the bricks, see L. Ménassa, P. Laferrière, *La Sāqia* 1–3, fig. 1. On brick in the papyri see G. Husson, *Oikia. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs* 232–5. Fired brick is rarer than raw, and is especially, though not exclusively, associated with wells and cisterns, cf. L. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 50 (1983) 59–60. In this letter the brick is called *ὀπτόπλινθος* even before it is fired.

6–7 Cf. **3802** 4. If the persons were the same, the date of **3811** would be reasonably close to AD 296. Note the similarity of the inventory numbers, which could indicate that the items were found not far apart.

10–11 *ἐποικίῳ . . . Οὐάλεντος*. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 127, citing only the sixth-century Apion estate account XVI **1912** 66–7, 71, 73, 77, 118, 136, all references to persons *ἀπὸ Οὐάλεντος* except for 118 mentioning an *ἐκκλησία Οὐάλεντος*. It seems quite likely that the *ἐποίκιον* is the same place in spite of the difference in dates.

3812. Eunöius to Horigenes

67 6B.10/J(1–2)a 19.5 × 17 cm Later third century

This letter is the fourth to record the celebration in Egypt of the Roman New Year under the simplified name of the Calends, see 5–6 n. The sender reproaches his correspondent for not visiting him for the occasion, as promised and expected, and

for not even sending the customary present of honey. In a postscript he urges him to come for the festival of Anubis.

The letter is written across the fibres on the back of a piece cut from a register of men's names with amounts of grain, published above as **3786**. The only entry not of this type is a heading consisting of the name of a district of Oxyrhynchus, *Βορρᾶ* (or *Νότου*) *Κ]ρηπείδος* (i 16), cf. H. Rink, *Strassen- und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus*, 38–9. However, although the letter is written on used paper from Oxyrhynchus and contains deletions and corrections, and although there is no address on the back, it does not seem to be a mere draft, because there are probably two hands. In my judgement a clerk wrote the main block and the three-line postscript (17–19), which is on a smaller scale and more rapid, while the two-line formula of farewell (13–14) is in a different small cursive. The sender would hardly have written the farewell formula in the usual way on a draft which was not to be sent. This should therefore be the actual letter, probably sent from elsewhere in the city or from somewhere nearby. The bearer of the letter presumably did not need an address. The recommendation of him in 12–13 suggests that he was not known to the recipient, but was expected to make himself known rather than just leave the letter at the house.

Although the phonetic spelling *γλυκείων* for *γλυκίων* (6) remains, four others in the body of the letter have been corrected: *ἀcχολείᾳ* to *ἀcχολίᾳ* (3), *cαι* to *cε* (3), *μέλει* to *μέλι* (6), and *coί* to *cύ* (7). Above the iota of *cυccίτους* (9) the corrector wrote *ει* and then cancelled it again when he realised that the original spelling was correct. An omitted word, *'τήν'*, has been added above the line in 12. In 13 *Εὐνοΐου* has been changed to *Εὐνοΐῳ*; with *cύντροφος* either would have been acceptable, but the dative is more literary. This unusual scrupulousness is matched by the unusual use of lectional signs, cf. E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, pp. 14, 118(= ed. 2, pp. 11–12, 118). Apart from the cases of diaeresis, both 'organic' and 'inorganic', see Turner, op. cit. 12 (= ed. 2, p. 10), common in private letters, there are: an oblique stroke for strong punctuation (5), one high stop (11), probably two rough breathings (6, 12?), two examples of apostrophe used as a diastole (9, 10), and one slightly doubtful accent (10). The postscript is more careless: *αλ'* (with a proper apostrophe) for *ἀλλ'* was left uncorrected, *πανήγυρις* was corrected to *-ιν*, another article was omitted and restored above the line, and the odd, but explicable, slip of *Cεβαστοῦ* for *Ἀνούβιδος* had to be corrected, see 19 n. The facetious style of the letter, though simple enough, is more literary than colloquial. Eunöius was evidently an educated person with literary tastes.

The assigned date is based on a palaeographical judgement of both sides of the papyrus. It may be that the register is connected with the corn dole archive of around AD 270, but this is not certain, see **3786** introd.

The rare name Eunöius also occurs in **3801**, a short business note of AD 295. Again a connection is possible but not certain. If there is only one Eunöius, we could reasonably expect him to have written in his own hand **3812** 13–14, a short farewell

formula, and **3801** 4, a single abbreviated word. They are not obviously in the same hand, but they are not distinctive enough to exclude the possibility that they were written by one man.

There is one sheet-join visible on the recto, where it is clear that the whole height of the roll is not preserved, see again **3786** introd. It looks as if a piece was cut vertically from the roll and the piece then divided again horizontally. The back of the top part was then used for the letter.

Εὐνόϊος Ὡριγένει τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ πλεῖcτα χαίρ[ει]ν.
τὸ cπουδαῖον τῶν λόγων ἔργῳ παρεῖδες. ἡμεῖc δὲ τῇ
cῇ ἀcχολ⟦ε⟧ίᾳ cυνγινώcκομεν, ἀλλὰ χρή c⟦αι⟧'ε' μεμνῆ-
cθαι ὧν ὑπέcχου καὶ cπουδάζειν ἃ ἐπηγγείλω
ποιήcειν. ὅτε γὰρ ἐχρῆν ἐν ταῖc γλυκείαιc Καλάν-
δαιc ἀποcταλῆναι τὸ μέλ⟦ε⟧ι — οὐ γλυκείων ὑπάρχειc,
c⟦ο⟧ὺ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέροc ἠμέληcαc, καὶ ταῦτα
ἡμῶν cε προcδοκώντων ἥξειν εἰc τὴν ἑορτὴν
τῶν Καλανδῶν, καὶ ἀφεῖκαc τοὺc cυccίτους ἀcίτους.
ταῦτα δέ coι γράφω ἐν ἑορτῇ προcπαίζων καί cε
[ὑ]πομιμνήcκων τῆc cῆc πρὸc ἡμᾶc cπουδῆc.
τὸν ἐπιδίδοντά coι 'τὴν' ἐπιcτολὴν ὡc ἕνα ἡμῶν ἰδέ.
ἔcτιν γὰρ Εὐνοΐῳ cύντροφοc. (m. 2) *θεοί cε cώcειαν διὰ*
παντὸc πανοικηcίᾳ.
α

⟦.....⟧

(m. 1) *ἀλ⟨λ⟩'ὅρα μὴ ἀμελήcῃc, κύριέ μου πάτερ.*
ἐλθὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐνόϊον εἰc τὴν πανήγυριν
τὴν 'τοῦ' θειοτάτ[ο]υ [ἡμ]ῶν ⟦Cεβαστοῦ⟧ Ἀνούβιδοc.

1 *ευνοϊοc* 3 *αcχολ⟦ε⟧ίαcυν(vv.)γινωcκομεν*: l. *cυγγινώcκομεν* 4 *ὑπεcχου, επην'γειλω*? l. *ἐπηγγείλω*
5 *ποιηcειν/οτε* 6 *οὐ*; l. *γλυκίων*; *ὑπαρχειc* 7 *υ* of *c[ο]υ* corr. from *ι*, i.e. *coί* corr. to *cύ*
9 *cύccιτουc'acιτους*; *ει* added, then deleted, above the first iota 10 *ενεορτῃ* 11 *cπουδης·*
12 *ἕνα*?, *ἰδε* 13 *ευνοϊω*: *ω* corr. from *ου* 17 *αλ'ορα* 18 *ευνοϊον*; *πανήγυριν*: *γ* corr. from *c*

'Eunöius to Horigenes, his most treasured (friend), very many greetings!'

'The earnestness of words you have in deed disregarded. We forgive your being busy, but you must remember the things you promised and be in earnest about the things you said you would do. For at the sweet Calends, when honey should have been sent—you are sweeter than it!—, you were careless in that direction too, and that although we were expecting you to come for the festival of the Calends, and you have left your fellow-feasters feastless. I write this to you during the festival, by way of a joke, and reminding

you of your earnest feeling for us. Look upon the man who delivers the letter to you as one of us, for he is someone close to Eunöius.'

'May the gods preserve you for ever with all the household!'

'But see that you do not neglect it, my lord father! Come to Eunöius for the festival of our most divine ⟦Augustus⟧ Anubis.'

1 *Εὐνόϊος*. Cf. W. Pape, G. Benseler, *Gr. Eigennamen* 415. It is not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

2 *σπουδαῖον*. For a survey of words with the stem *σπουδ-* in the papyri see J. H. Moulton, G. Milligan, *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (Part VII, 1928) 585–6. There is an echo which I have put into the translation, without, however, achieving natural English. At this place there seems to be a mixture of the idea of doing zealously the things that it is proper to do (*σπουδάζειν* 4) and being zealous to serve one's friends (*σπουδῆς* 11). I think that the pompousness of this sentence is meant to be funny, so that there may also be an allusion to the opposition between *τὸ σπουδαῖον* and *τὸ γελοῖον*, cf. 10 n. on *προσπαίζων*.

3 *συνγινώσκομεν* = *συγγινώσκομεν*. There is a gap wide enough for two letters between *συν* and *γινωσκομεν*, perhaps because of a roughness in the papyrus. There is also a narrow vertical split enlarged by a bookworm, but it does not seem likely that there was an apostrophe used as a diastole here, cf. E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, p. 13 (= ed. 2, p. 11). On the other hand in *ἐπηγχείλω* = *ἐπηγγείλω* (4) there is certainly some ink at a high level which, in spite of the damage, is likely to have been an apostrophe. If it had been a gamma to replace the nu, the nu would show signs of correction and we would expect a similar correction here in line 3.

c⟦αι⟧*ϵ′*. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 193.

4 *ἐπηγχείλω*. Cf. app. crit. and 3 n.

5 For strong punctuation by oblique stroke see E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts* no. 66 (p. 110), no. 47 (pp. 67, 84–5), cf. p. 10 (= ed. 2, p. 8). Cf. XXXI **2603** 29 (plate in *JEA* 48 (1962) 133), L **3533**, LII **3657–8**, (XXX **2513**+) LIII **3698**. Similar signs occur in some Christian texts of the Byzantine period and in a few cases they are used lavishly to separate phrases or individual words, see G. Bastianini, *Wiener Studien* 97 (NF 18, 1984) 195–202, esp. 196–8. In LIII **3712** (Eur., *Phoen.*) an oblique stroke appears at the ends of some lines, but its function is not clear.

5–6 *Καλάνδαις*. Other papyrus letters, P. Wisc. II 72, CPR VIII 52, and perhaps W. *Chr.* 483 (= P. Lond. III (p. 213) 951 verso), refer to the Calends as a holiday or festival, and in XII **1475** 31–2 a sale of land stipulates that liability for taxes should pass to the buyer on the Calends, month unspecified. In all these cases the reference is to the Roman New Year, which came to be celebrated all over the Empire and to be known in Greek simply by the name of 'the Calends', without mention of the month, see the discussion in J. R. Rea, 'On the Greek Calends', *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology* (forthcoming). To the bibliography there add now D. Baudy, 'Strenarum Commercium', *Rhein. Mus. N. F.* 130 (1987) 1–28.

6 *μέλι*. Cf. M. Meslin, *La fête des kalendes* 42. Ovid, *Fasti* i 185–8, makes Janus explain that honey and other sweet things are appropriate gifts for New Year because they give an omen that the rest of the year will be 'sweet'. Money, as in CPR VIII 52.10–11, is even sweeter (189–226)!

γλυκείων = *γλυκίων*. This is the only uncorrected phonetic spelling, see introd., apart from the unassimilated nasals *συνγινώσκομεν* (3) and *ἐπηγγείλω* (4).

οὐ (like *ἕνα* 12?) has a rough breathing, see introd., cf. E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, pp. 14 (= ed. 2, pp. 11–12), 118.

7 *σοί* was corrected to *σύ* by deleting the omicron and adding a bowl at the top of the iota, which thus became the stem of the new upsilon. For the phonetic equivalence see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 198–9.

8 *ἑορτήν*, cf. 10 and 18 n.

9 *τοὺς συσσίτους ἀσίτους*. The New Year celebrations, sometimes lasting over five days, began with a festive meal on New Year's Eve, see *RE* X 1562, A. Müller, *Philologus* 68 (1909) 481–2, M. Meslin, *La fête des kalendes* 71–2. It is probably alluded to here. The metaphor implies that the other dinner guests of Eunöius had not been able to enjoy the honey of Horigenes's company, cf. 6.

For the apostrophe used as a diastole (*συσσιτουσ'ασιτους*), cf. 10, see E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts* pp. 12–13 (= ed. 2, p. 11), 62.

10 *ἐν ἑορτῇ ενεορτῇ* pap. For the apostrophe/diastole see previous note. It is perhaps too charitable to transcribe the accent as a circumflex; it looks more like an acute. It may be slightly damaged or it may be just badly made, but it could also be a mistake.

προσπαίζων. *LSJ* s.v. I. 2 tells us that this verb is the opposite of *σπουδάζω* in Pl. *Euthd.* 283 b. Cf. 2 n. The celebration of the New Year tended to take over the hilarity of the Saturnalia, celebrated shortly before, see *RE* X 1562, M. Meslin, *La fête des kalendes* 90–2, so that the facetious tone of this letter was probably thought to be particularly appropriate to the season.

11 After *σπουδῆς* there is a stop, a high stop from its context, which requires strong punctuation, but at middle rather than high level, being below the extended horizontal cap of the sigma. For the system see E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, pp. 10–12 (= ed. 2, pp. 8–10).

12 The writing of the inserted *τήν* looks more like that of Eunöius' farewell formula in 13–14 than like that of the clerk's own corrections in 19. It may be that the correction of the spelling was done by Eunöius himself, but it is not possible to be sure where the corrections consist only of a deletion or have a single superscript letter or part of a letter as in c⟦αι⟧*ϵ′* (3) and c⟦ο⟧*ύ* (7). The punctuation and lectional signs are the work of the clerk, so far as I can see.

ἕνα. Cf. 6 n.

13 *Εὐνοΐῳ* (*-ω* corr. from *-ου*). See introd. for the correction. Eunöius uses his own name here and in 18 instead of *ἐμοί* and *ἐμέ*. I think this is part of his facetious style and not a case of the clerk writing in his own *persona*.

σύντροφος. For a survey of its uses in the papyri see J. H. Moulton, G. Milligan, *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (Part VII, 1928), 615, cf. G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* III (1978) no. 9 pp. 37–8. Its sense is usually rather weak, i.e. 'friend' rather than 'foster-brother'.

13–14 For similar farewell formulas with optatives cf. P. Herm. Rees 2.28–32, 3.20–5, 5.27–9.

15 I suspect that the unfinished alpha was a false start to the postscript 17–19, beginning *ἀλ⟨λ⟩' ὅρα*. It may be that it is in the hand of Eunöius, and that he began to write the postscript himself before changing his mind, or it may be that the clerk started here and then decided that it would be more convenient or more appropriate to write it below.

16 To judge from the width about twenty letters on the smaller scale have been very thoroughly blotted out with ink. Nothing has been read. It may have been something which was there before the letter was written, of course.

17 For the formula *ἀλλ' ὅρα μὴ ἀμελήσῃς* cf. H. A. Steen, 'Les clichés épistolaires', *Classica et Mediaevalia* 1 (1938) 162–6.

πάτερ. From the tone of the letter it seems very unlikely that Horigenes was the father of Eunöius by blood, and there is abundant evidence that terms of blood relationship were much used as marks of friendship and respect, see e.g. P. Mich. VIII 467–81 introd., 468.46–7 n., H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* ii 891 and n. 6, cf. **3808** introd., **3813–15** introd. para. 2, **3819** introd., **3820** 1 n.

18 *Εὐνόϊον*. Cf. 13 n.

πανήγυριν. The word denotes an '*assembly*' . . . 'esp. *a festal assembly*' (*LSJ*), and so should mean a public event, but there are two papyri which use it to refer to birthday celebrations for private individuals, see M. Vandoni, *Feste Pubbliche*, nos. 137 (V AD) and 149 (I BC/I AD). Occurrences of *ἑορτή* (cf. 8, 10 here) and *πανήγυρις* in the papyri have been reviewed lately by L. Casarico, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 135–62. See too F. Perpillou-Thomas, 'La panégyrie au gymnase d'Oxyrhynchos', *CE* 61 (1986) 303–12; she points out (303 and n. 4) that *πανήγυρις* is rarely used to denote festivals of gods, giving only two references where the word is found followed by the name of the god as here: *π. Ἀθηνᾶς* (SB V 8159.24), *π. τοῦ Νείλου* (XLIII **3148** 2). It is, by contrast, particularly used of a Greek festival connected with the gymnasium at Oxyrhynchus, which took place *c.*24 Tybi, 19 January. This season would suit our letter well, but it is difficult to connect Anubis with Greek gymnasial festivities.

19 *'τοῦ' θειοτάτ[ο]υ [ἡμ]ῶν ⟦Σεβαστοῦ⟧ Ἀνούβιδος*. There exists a series of statues representing Anubis as an emperor with a dog's head and there is one inscription with a dedication worded *Anubi Aug(usto)*, see J.-C. Grenier, *Anubis Alexandrin et Romain* 39–40, pl. XIVb; 93 no. 57. It is remotely possible that this conception of Anubis may have contributed to the error, but the main cause of it lies in the use of *θειότατος* as a standard epithet for the emperor, on which see S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power* 245–6, citing especially J. Rougé, *Ὁ θειότατος Αὔγουστος*, *Rev. phil.* 43 (1969) 83–92. In Egypt at least it is applied more frequently to emperors and kings than to gods, see G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon* ii 435–6, which links it only with the name of Memnon (four inscriptions on the colossus, one on the tomb of Rameses VI).

The festival in question has not been identified. In the Greek papyri only one Anubis festival is satisfactorily dated, from P. Hibeh I 27.170 3. This is a calendar of Sais of the early Ptolemaic period, which records a festival for Anubis on the day of the autumn equinox. Anubis was associated with the equinoxes, see *RE* I 2646-7, so this festival may have been celebrated more widely than just in Sais, but it seems unlikely that a date so remote from 1 January is referred to here. Other festival-dates can be culled from S. Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten* (a reference which I owe to Dr Mark Smith), but none seems sufficiently close or outstanding to qualify for identification with this one.

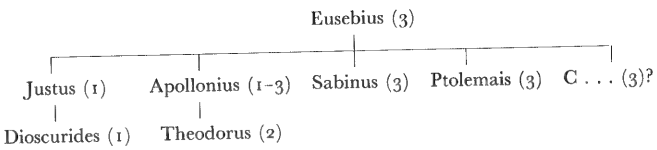
Anubis is the chief god of the neighbouring Cynopolite nome, see especially J. Vandier, *Le Papyrus Jumilhac*. We might expect him to appear very rarely in the Oxyrhynchus papyri if we recall Plutarch, *Isid. et Osir.* 72, mentioning riots between Oxyrhynchites and Cynopolites associated with the sacrifice by each side of the other's sacred animal, and in fact there is only one other reference: X **1256** mentions a priest of Anubis in a Cynopolite village. However, the worship of the oxyrhynchus fish is not met with at all in the papyri from Oxyrhynchus; contrast PSI VIII 901, a sworn undertaking by Arsinoite fishermen not to catch oxyrhynchi or lepidoti. The Oxyrhynchite attitude to Anubis is simply not known and this isolated mention of him is hard to put into a comprehensive context, but the letter proves that he received some respect there.

It should be added that A. Alföldi has argued in a series of works (*A Festival of Isis* (1937), *Die Kontorniaten* (1943), *The Conversion of Constantine* (1948), p. 80, 'Die alexandrinischen Götter', *JAC* 8/9 (1965/6) 53-87), that the pseudo-coins called 'contorniates', some of them bearing types of Isis, Sarapis, and Anubis, were distributed in Rome on 3 January, upon which date he would fix a festival of Isis Pharia. If proved, this would provide a good context for our letter. The sender would be inviting a person who lived nearby, see introd., and who had failed to turn up to dinner on 31 December, see 9 n., to come along to some continuation of the celebrations on 3 January analogous to the *uota publica* in Rome. The word *πανήγυρις* would be wholly appropriate to this sort of event. Alföldi's arguments are not accepted by M. Meslin, *La fête des kalendes* 59-66, and in any case we might wonder for what special reason Anubis would lend his name to this celebration, rather than Isis or Sarapis. However, it is undeniable that there is a series of contorniates with reverses showing Anubis and the legend VOTA PVBLICA, see Alföldi, *A Festival of Isis* 20-2 and the relevant plates, esp. XIV. *Vota* were particularly associated with 3 January, see *RE* Suppl. XIV coll. 968-70, and were for the health of the emperor, a fact which might be seen as a further explanation of the use of *θειότατος* and a background to the deletion of *Σεβαστοῦ*.

3813–3815. Letters to Apollonius

All three of these letters were found in the third season of excavations at Oxyrhynchus (1903-4) and have inventory numbers which suggest that at that time they lay not far apart. Although Apollonius is a common name, they could well be directed to the same man, described in **3813** 88 as a hypomnematographus and ex-prytanis, see note. He might possibly be the same as Aurelius Apollonius alias Dionysius, who was prytanis of Oxyrhynchus several times in the late third century, see most lately P. Laur. IV 155. 1-4 n. There is no internal evidence, apart from the name of the addressee, to link the letters.

In **3813** (1) Justus addresses Apollonius as 'my lord brother', in **3814** (2) Theodorus calls him 'my lord father', and in **3815** (3) Eusebius calls him 'my lord son'. If we take these and the other terms of blood relationship which occur literally, we could construct a consistent family tree, as follows:



However, it seems much more likely that most of these expressions are terms of respect and affection, as so often, rather than factual statements of blood relationship. As a striking example of this custom, the pitfalls of which are still too little appreciated, see XLVIII **3396**, a letter from Papnuthis to his 'lord father' and 'lady mother' (1-2), who were truly his parents, as we know from other items of the archive. In it he sends greetings to an additional 'mother' (29) and two more 'fathers' (27, 28-9)! Cf. **3808** introd., **3812** 17 n., **3819** introd., **3820** 1 n.

3813. Justus to Apollonius

38 3B.85/C(1)a 19 × 28 cm Third/fourth century

In spite of particularly severe damage in lines 17-34, this is the most interesting of the three letters. Justus, who wrote from Alexandria, was very anxious to take possession of the property of a freedman of his who had died, although the freedman had a son whose opposition he feared. He mentioned that the arrival of a governor was likely to suppress 'the nonsense of certain people', and reported that a petition from a brother or colleague (*ἀδελφοῦ* 51-2) of Apollonius against certain fellow magistrates concerning an uproar in the gymnasium had arrived in Alexandria and had been talked about 'all over headquarters' (*ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ* 58). He touched on some business in Alexandria which he might be able to settle before his return journey to attend to the affair of the freedman, and closed with some remarks about the vintage and wine-making.

Close to the left edge of the letter there is a sheet-join with the right sheet overlapping the left. This shows that the piece was cut from a roll in the usual way and that the recto was used for the letter, although the cut piece was turned upside down, so to speak, before the letter was written. The five vertical creases left by folds and the repeating pattern of damage show that the letter was rolled up with the right edge inside and pressed into a flat spill. The exposed left edge was tucked inside for safety and the address was written upwards along the fibres of one of the sides. A pattern in ink, here much blotted, indicates where a strip of binding material encircled the middle of the spill, cf. XLVIII **3396** 32 n.

col. i

κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Ἀπολλωνίωι
ὑπομνηματογρ(άφῳ) Ἰοῦστος χαίρει(ν).
ἔγραψέν μοι ὁ υἱὸς Διοσκουρίδης
περὶ Διογένους τοῦ υἱοῦ Μαρκέλ-
5 λης ὡς τεθνεῶτος καὶ ἐχρῆν
σε, κύριέ μου ἄδελφε, εἰδότα ὡς
σοῦ χάριν ἐνθάδε διατρίβω{ν},
κήδεσθαι καὶ φροντίδειν
τοῦ πράγματος ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡμεῖν
10 λυσιτελοῦντος. οἶδας γάρ, κἂν
ἐγὼ μὴ γράφω σοι, ὡς τὰ τῶν
ἀπελευθέρων ὑποστέλλει{ν} τοῖς
πάτρωσι. καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις,
ἀναλαβών μου τὸ πρόσωπον,
15 ποιήσας τὸν υἱόν μου Διοσκου-
ρ̣ίδην ἐπ᾽ἀναγραφῇ ἔχειν
τά τε] κ̣τήνη καὶ τὴν συνκο-
μιδὴ]ν̣ καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο αὐτῷ
....].νεν, πρῴτ̣ως ποιη-
20 .....].ο̣μιλω̣.ος αὐτὸν
....]..ι τῶν ἐκεῖ ἀποκει-
μένων] βιβλίων ἕνεκεν
....] π̣άντα τὰ ἔνγραφα
....].. ἀπόκε̣[ι]ται. οἶδεν
25 Διοσκ]ο̣υρίδη[ς] ο̣ὗ λέγω
.....].ρ̣εντ̣.[..].ων καὶ
.....]. κατὰ τ̣[οὺς] νόμους
.....].ωσκα...[.ε]λθὼ(ν)
.....]ω̣μου η[....]ν̣ι̣δια
30 .....]ωνω.[...]νευσεν

2 ὑπομνηματογρ⌈ϊουστοσχαιρεῖ 3 υϊος 4 υϊου 8 l. φροντίζειν 9 ὑπερ; l. ἡμῖν
12 ὑποστελλειν 17–18 l. συγκομιδήν 15 υϊον 23 l. ἔγγραφα 28 ε]λθῶ

.....]αξιωσι κ̣[ατὰ] τ̣οὺς νό-
μους ..].ε̣ι̣τω[...]οπαις
.....]ναφοβ[...]νοσο
.].....νεμ.[....]αλέλει-
35 π̣τα[ι τ]ῶν δια[...].ντων
τῷ πράγματ[ι. αἱ] γὰρ φρυα-
ρίαι τινῶν οὐ[δὲ]ν οὐκέτι
ἰσχύουσι ἐν τῇ ἐπιβάσι τοῦ
κυρίου μου ἡγεμόνος. ἐὰν δὲ
40 φρυαροῖ Ὧρος, εἴ γε περίεστιν,
φάσκων αὐτοῦ εἶναι τοῦ ὄνο-
μα ἔχειν πατρός, μαθέτω
ὅτι οὐδὲν ⟦νῦν⟧ ἰσχύσει

col. ii

παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον. λέγω δὲ
45 ὅτι Καλόκερος, ὃν καὶ αὐ-
τὸς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ, ὅτι ἡμεῖν
μᾶλλον συναρεῖται ἢ τῷ
προκειμένῳ Ὥρῳ. δη-
λῶ δέ σοι, ἵνα μηδέν σε
50 λανθάνῃ, ὅτι τὰ δοθέν-
τα βιβλίδια ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελ-
φοῦ σου κατά τινων συναρ-
χόντων, ὡς θορύβου τι-
νὸς γενομένου ἐν τῷ
55 γυμνασίῳ, ἐνθάδε ἐ-
πέμφθη ἐπὶ τὴν λαμπρ⟦.⟧`ο´-
τάτην Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ
ἐν̣ ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ
ἠκούσθη, `καί´, ὡς ἔσσι εἰπεῖν,
60 εἰς ὦτα ἦλθεν τοῦ αὐ-

36–7 l. φλυαρίαι 38 ϊσχυουσι; l. ἐπιβάσει 40 l. φλυαρῇ 43 ϊσχυσει 45 l. Καλόκαιρος
46 l. ἡμῖν 49 ϊνα 51 ὑπο 58 ν̣ corr. 59 l. ἔστι

θέντου. ἵνα οὖν σκέψη-
σθαι τὸ συμφέρον αὐτῶ(ν),
αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐδήλωσά σοι.
περὶ τοῦ οὖν ἰσχαροσίμου,
καθὼς καὶ προεῖπον,
πάντα κυκώσας πρὸς
αὐτόν, ἔστ'ἄν μοι κατανεύ-
σῃ τοῦ ἐξελθεῖν, Ἀλέξαν-
δ]ρον οὐ[δ'] ἀῦ περιμέ-
γω ἵνα [κ]αὶ τὸ τῶν ϛ̄
γαλάντ[ω]ν ἀνύσω πρὸ
τ]οῦ{ν} ἐξ[έλ]θω. ἐὰν οὖν
ἔ]λθῃ μ[έχρ]ι τῆς ι[ε¯] — ὅλης
τῆς ιε¯. [ἐὰ]ν δ'ἄρα μή, κἀγὼ
ἐξέρχομ[αι]. οὐ μέλλει γὰρ οὗ-
τος ἐνά[γει]ν πώποτε. περὶ
φρυαρίας [γ]ὰρ αὐτῷ ἐστιν, ὡς
οἶδας. περὶ τοῦ μετεώρου
τοῦ ἀπελευθέρου θαρρῶ ὅτι
οὐ μέλλεις ἀφηςυχάδειν,
ἵνα μὴ πεχθῶμεν καὶ ὑ-
πὸ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν. οὐ δέῃ
ἐντολῆς καὶ περὶ τῆς τρύγης
καὶ τῶν δανειστῶν. καὶ δη-
(vac.) λωσάτω μοι

Left margin, downwards:

καὶ τὴν ῥύςιν καὶ το..[*c.*30–35 letters]. ἐνετειλάμην σοι. ἔρρω-
σό μοι.

Back, upwards along the fibres:

κυρίῳ μ[ο]γ ἀδελφῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ (design) ὑπομνηματογράφῳ πρυτανεύ(σαντι)
(vac.) καὶ Διοσκουρίδη υἱῷ Ἰοῦστος.

61 ἵνα 61–2 l. σκέψησθε 62 αυτῶ 64 ἰσχαροσιμου; see n. 70 ἵνα
77 l. φλυαρίας 80 l. ἀφηςυχάζειν 81 ἵνα; l. παιχθῶμεν 81–2 ὕπο 82 ἰδιωτων
88 ὑπομνηματογραφωπρυτανεῦ 89 υἱω (vac.) ἰουστος

'To my lord brother Apollonius, hypomnematographus, Justus, greetings. My son Dioscurides wrote to me that Diogenes the son of Marcella had died and you, my lord brother, knowing that it is on your account that I am staying here, ought to have looked after and taken care of the affair with regard to our advantage. For you know, even if I do not write to you, that the affairs of freedmen fall under the control of their patrons. So you will do well if you assume my character and make my son Dioscurides put on record the beasts and the produce of the harvest and whatever else . . . ed to him, first making (?) . . . (of?) Milo(?) . . . and(?) on account of the papers which are stored there . . . all the written documents . . . is (are?) in store. Dioscurides knows where I mean (?) . . .'

(36 ff.) 'For the nonsense of certain people has no effect any longer following the arrival of my lord the governor. If Horus gets up to his nonsense—if indeed he survives—, saying that it is his prerogative to hold on to his father's title, let him learn that he will have no power against what is right. I mean that Calocaerus—whom he himself knows—that he will help us rather than the aforesaid Horus.'

'I tell you, so that nothing may escape your notice, that the petition submitted by your colleague (or 'brother'?) against certain fellow magistrates, about there having been some uproar in the gymnasium, was sent here to the most glorious Alexandria and was heard of all over headquarters and, so to speak, came to the ears of the person responsible. So, in order that you might look to their (or 'your own'?) advantage, I informed you of this fact.'

'So then, in connection with . . ., as I said before, having stirred up everything against him until he gave me leave to depart, finally I am not even waiting for Alexander so as to complete the matter of the six talents also before I set out. If indeed he comes up to the 15th—the whole of the 15th, (well and good!). But if after all he doesn't come, I too shall set out. For this fellow is not going to bring his case to court ever. For it is about a nonsense on his part, as you know. In the matter of the unfinished business of the freedman I am confident that you are not going to remains quiet, so that we may not be made a laughing-stock even by outsiders. You need no instruction about either the vintage or the creditors. Also let him report to me both the yield of new wine and . . . (as?) I instructed you. I wish you well.'

Back: 'To my lord brother Apollonius, hypomnematographus, ex-prytanis, and to Dioscurides (my) son, Justus.'

1–2 For Apollonius see 88 n.

4–5 *υἱοῦ Μαρκέλλης*. The metronymic is used in this case because a child born of a slave mother could have no official father.

7 *διατρίβω{ν}*. Cf. 12 *ὑποστέλλει{ν}*. For the frequent phonetic problems of final nasals see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 111–14.

8 *φροντίδειν* = *-ίζειν*. Cf. 80 *ἀφηςυχάδειν* = *-άζειν*; see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 75–6.

10–13 I have translated cautiously, 'the affairs of freedmen fall under the control of their patrons', but he may mean, 'the property of freedmen belongs to their patrons'. Later passages imply that Justus hoped to acquire all the freedman's possessions although there was a son. After a formal Roman manumission a patron was legally entitled to half of his freedman's estate at most, if there were children to inherit, see M. Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht* ii 486, 508–10, A. Watson, *The Law of Succession* 185–7, citing especially Gaius, *Inst.* III §§ 39–42. Masters often manumitted informally in order to retain greater rights of succession, see A. Watson, *Roman Slave Law* 23–45.

12 *ὑποστέλλει{ν}*. Cf. 7 n.

17–18 The collocation of animals and harvest shows that the freedman was involved in agriculture.

19 ....]*.νεν*. The trace is a horizontal joining nu near the top; alpha and epsilon are perhaps the likeliest, but not necessarily the only, possibilities. We need a past tense meaning 'belonged', 'was entrusted', or something similar. I have found no plausible restoration.

20–36 Although the damage does not seem very extensive, what remains is so ambiguous that I have not been able to find a coherent story in these lines. They seem still to concern the affair of the freedman.

20 The name *Μίλων*, in the nominative or genitive, is perhaps to be recognized here. A place called *Μίλων[ος?]* is attested once, XII **1545** 9.

21] *καί* is a good possibility. An infinitive in *-]σαι* or *-σ]θαι* seems not to satisfy the traces.

24–5 Above the epsilon of *οἶδεν* is something which looks like an interlined sigma. It may be that a correction of *οἶδεν* to *οἶδες* was intended, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 353–4. Against which it may be said that (1) the nu is uncancelled, (2) the clerk uses *οἶδας* in 10, and (3) the interlineation is placed rather far

to the left for this interpretation. The semi-circle may be a misplaced attempt to define the top of epsilon rather more clearly.

27 *κατὰ τ[οὺς] νόμους*. Cf. 31–2.

31]*αξιωσι*. The context, damaged though it is, seems not to favour *-αξιῶσι*; perhaps *-αξιώσει*, whether noun or verb, simple or compound, was intended. Mr Parsons suggests [*ἐπέ*]*νευσεν* [....] *ἀξιώσ(ε)ι*, cf. P. Mert. I 26.14 *ἐπένευσεν αὐτῆς τῇ ἀξι[ώ]σει ὁ . . . ἐπανορθώτης*. This may provide a link, cf. 65 n., with 64–8 below, especially with *κατανεύσῃ τοῦ ἐξελθεῖν* (67–8), but I can get no further. Here *κ*[*ατέ*]*νευσεν* will not suit the trace, for which nu might be best, and [*κατέ*]*νευσεν* seems too long for the space, but the sense is unaffected. In the gap supply perhaps [*μου τῇ*].

33–6 The final omicron of 33 is written large, suggesting the articulation]*νος ο*. Restore perhaps *φοβ*[*ούμε*]*νος δ*[*τ*]*ι ῥᾳδὲν ἐμο*[*ὶ κατ*]*αλέλειπτα*[*ι τ*]*ῶν δια*[*φερ*]*όντων τῷ πράγματι*, 'being afraid because none of the things which relate to the affair have been left to me', but this is of dubious meaning and hard to connect with what precedes. Who was afraid? Was it the writer, or *ὁ παῖς*, if that is the right articulation in 32? A patron was entitled to a half share of his freedman's estate, if there were no children to inherit, and for large estates even if there were, cf. 10–13 n.

36–7 *φρυαρίαι* = *φλυαρίαι*. Cf. 40, 77. On interchange of liquids see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 102–7; here assimilation may be involved.

38–9 This must refer to the arrival of a prefect in Alexandria. In P. Lond. III 1170.3 (p. 93) *ἐπίβασις* denotes the arrival associated with the entry to office of a strategus, so that here it may refer to a first arrival, cf. OGIS II 669 (edict of Ti. Julius Alexander).5 *σχεδὸν δὲ ἐξ οὗ τῆς πόλεως ἐπέβην καταβοώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων κτλ.*, with the commentary of G. Chalon, *L'Edit* 95 n. 3. For the importance attached to the first formal entry of a proconsular governor to his province see F. G. B. Millar, *The Roman Empire and its Neighbours* 63, citing *Dig.* I. 16.4. The prefect of Egypt probably observed similar conventions, cf. *Dig.* I. 17.1.

40 *φρυαροῖ* = *φλυαρῇ*. Cf. 36–7 n. for interchange of liquids and F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 363–5 for confusion of the classes of contracted verbs.

41 For *αὐτοῦ* rather than *αὐτοῦ* see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 170–1.

τοῦ ὄνομα ἔχειν. There is a strong tendency for the articular infinitive to appear in the genitive, cf. 68, even where another case might seem appropriate, as here the accusative would; see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 334–7 (§§815–35).

For *ὄνομα*, 'legal title' see *WB* s.v. (2), col. 184.

58 *πραιτωρίῳ*. See S. Daris, *Lessico Latino* 94–5; add XLIII **3150** 14–15 and n., P. Petaus 47.44; 48.2. Little is known of the one in Alexandria, see A. Calderini, *Diz. dei nomi geografici* I i 138.

59 *ἔστι* = *ἔστι*. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 66.

60–1 *αὐθέντου*. It is not clear what is meant. Was someone in government circles at Alexandria guilty of instigating disorder in Oxyrhynchus? Or was 'the person responsible' the one who was to settle disputes arising out of the disorder?

62 *τὸ συμφέρον αὐτῶ*(*ν*). 'Their advantage' may be correct, referring to the brother or colleague (*ἀδελφοῦ* 51–2) of Apollonius and some associates of his, but 'your own (pl.) advantage' is expected, in which case *αὐτῶν* is for *ἑαυτῶν*, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 169, but *αὐτῶν* is not likely to be correct, ibid., 170–1. The clear and deliberate horizontal above the omega in *αυτω̃* makes it very unlikely that *αὐτῷ* was intended.

64 *ἰσχαροσιμου* seems to be unknown, cf. F. Dornseiff, B. Hansen, *Rückl. Wb. d. gr. Eigennamen* 137 (*-ιμας*), 162 (*-ιμης*), 262 (*-ιμος*), P. Kretschmer, E. Locker, *Rückl. Wb. d. gr. Sprache* 358 (*-σιμός*), 434–5 (*-σιμος*). The most obvious possibility is a new compound of *ἴσχω* and *ἀρόσιμος*, on the model of *ἴσχαιμος*, 'blood-staunching, styptic', but if so I fail to understand the sense of it. I am inclined to view it as a new adjective in *-σιμος*, cf. L. R. Palmer, *Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* 27–8. Perhaps, then, he meant **ἐσχαρώσιμος* 'scabby', cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 249–51, esp. 250 para. (c), for the change *ε*〉*ι*, and ibid., 275–7, for the much commoner *ω*〉*ο*. However, there may be some connection with the equally puzzling *ὁ Ἰσχαροσιέραξ* (?), which occurs in a damaged context in P. Mil. I 24.18. If it is rightly taken as a name, that solution may suit our problem too.

65 *καθὼς καὶ προεῖπον*. An echo of 67–8 (*κατανεύσῃ*) is perhaps to be recognised in 30–1 ([*ἐπέ*]*νευσεν . . . ἀξιώσ*(*ε*)*ι*?), see 31 n., but I can get no further with it.

66 *κυκώσας*. This verb has not yet appeared in the papyrological dictionaries.

68 *τοῦ ἐξελθεῖν*. Cf. 41 n.

69–70 *περιμέγω*. The future, *περιμενῶ*, is also possible, but the present in a future sense is equally idiomatic, see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 102–7 (§§214 21), and cf. 75, *ἐξέρχομ*[*αι*], 'I shall set out'.

71–2 *πρὸ* [*τ*]*οῦ*{*ν*} *ἐξ*[*έλ*]*θω*. Cf. III **611** (descr.) *πρὸ τοῦν Ἀγαθοκλῆς διαστείλῃ*, XXXVI **2781** 4 *πρὸ τοῦν ἐλθωμεν*. R. C. Horn, *The Use of the Subjunctive* 128, suggested that this was *πρὸ τοῦ* plus nu movable, comparing P. Fay. 136.6–7 *πρὸ τοῦ τις ὑμᾶς ἐνέγκῃ*, P. Lond. IV 1346.10 *πρὸ τοῦ γένηται ἀπόβασις*, 1353.10–11 *πρὼ* (= *πρό*) *τοῦ*(?) *ἀποβῇ τὸ ὕδωρ*; add XVI **1854** 3–4 *πρὸ τοῦ τὰ ὕδατα κατακρατήσωσιν τὴν γῆν*, see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 269 §598 (20). This use of *πρὸ τοῦ* plus subjunctive seems to have developed out of the use of *πρό* with the articular infinitive, see Mandilaras, op. cit. 348–9 §860, by analogy with *ἕως* and *πρίν* plus subjunctive. The superfluous nu is more probably due to phonetic uncertainty over final nasals, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 113 para. d.

72–4 Mr Parsons points out to me that the absence of the apodosis is an idiom, see E. Mayser, *Grammatik* ii. 3 pp. 8–9. It is somewhat reminiscent of the idiomatic all-purpose apodosis in English, 'If . . ., well and good! If not, (the consequence follows)'.

75–6 *οὗτος* is probably Alexander. It could perhaps be the freedman's son, Horus, but the specific way the affair of the freedman is mentioned in 78–9 suggests that it is there that Justus returns to his main topic.

76 *ἐνά*[*γει*]*ν*, cf. e.g. BGU XII 2173.4, 10, is doubtful, but an equally short infinitive offering reasonable sense has not been found.

77 *φρυαρίας*. Cf. 36–7 n.

80 *ἀφησυχάδειν* = *-άζειν*. Cf. 8 n.

82 *ἰδιωτῶν*. This means persons not of the curial class, see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 21; cf. XXXIII **2664** 13–14 n., A. Bianchi, *Aegyptus* 63 (1983) 192–3. Horus as the son of a freedman evidently was not included in that class.

83 *τρύγης*. This and *ῥύειν*, 'wine-yield' (86), indicate that the letter was written at the season of the vintage, which was, roughly speaking, about August, see M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 275–7. In 72–5 Justus seems to say that he could be found in Alexandria up to the 15th, implying that he would leave on the 16th. Perhaps, therefore, he is most likely to mean 15 Thoth = 12 September, or 15 Mesore = 8 August.

84–5 *δηλωσάτω*. We rather expect *δήλωσον*, but probably the text is correct. Presumably the subject was not specified because he was clearly indicated by the nature of the instruction. Perhaps he was Dioscurides, if the vintage was part of the agricultural activities of Diogenes, cf. 17–18 n.

85 The bottom edge, evidently original, leaves very little space below the beginning of line 84, but curves downwards to the right, where 85 has been crowded in underneath. Cf. 87.

86 Cf. **3814** 29–30 n.

το..[. Read either *τοτ*[or *τοπ*[, probably to be articulated *τὸ κτλ*.

Restore perhaps *ὡ*]*ς* or *καθὼ*]*ς ἐνετειλάμην σοι*.

87 This short line has been crowded in under 86 in the same way as 85 under 84.

88 The design marks the spot where a binding was placed around the letter before it was sent, cf. XLVIII **3396** 32 n., **3814** 31 n., **3815** introd. para. 3.

ὑπομνηματογράφῳ πρυτανεύ(*σαντι*). To judge from the lists of prytaneis in A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 131–7, the only known Apollonius who is a candidate for identification with this one is Aurelius Apollonius alias Dionysius, who is attested by documents ranging from AD 273 to 292, see especially P. Laur. IV 155.1–4 n., cf. LI **3610** 4 n. At the unknown date of P. Laur. 155 he was (ex-?)hypomnematographus of Alexandria, councillor, (ex-?)gymnasiarch, and prytanis in office of Oxyrhynchus. In I **59** of 10 February, AD 292 he appears with another Apollonius, who has no alias, and was ex-hypomnematographus and current strategus. It is not certain whether the strategus of AD 291/2 was one of the traditional type, appointed from outside the nome, or one of the new type, chosen from the curial class of the same nome, but the usual guess is that the change came later, during the municipal reforms of Diocletian, *c.*AD 296.

89 Clumsy spacing and paler ink show that the words *καὶ Διοσκουρίδῃ υἱῷ* were added as an afterthought, cf. 3, 15, 25.

3814. Theodorus to Apollonius

38 3B.84/J(6–8)a 12 × 25 cm Third/fourth century

Apollonius had been worried about the possibility of dependents of his being recruited for compulsory service. Theodorus, a magistrate himself like Apollonius, assured him that their fellow magistrates, who had not made such appointments in his absence, would not dare to do so now that he was at hand. There is an unmistakeable implication that Apollonius was one of those influential people able to provide protection against these claims by the state, cf. N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Services of Roman Egypt* 156–9.

It was a question of the recruitment of carpenters for work on Trajan's Canal, see 13–15 n. This had been ordered by a procurator. The names of the carpenters concerned were not available to Theodorus, so that his reassurance was not based on certain knowledge, but he promised to send a list on the following day. He had heard that Apollonius was suffering from ill-health of a kind he had known before and promised to come and visit him.

There is a postscript of two lines in the left margin, alluding briefly to two documents. On the back is an address, as well as three lines of shorthand and a very brief endorsement in Greek, neither of them yet understood.

There is a sheet-join running vertically about 4 cm from the right edge, showing that the piece was cut from a roll in the usual way and that the writing of lines 1–28 runs along the fibres of the recto.

κυρίῳ μου πατρὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ
Θεόδωρος χαίρειν.
ἐπέστιλάς μοι ὡς περὶ τῶν τεκτό-
νων. καὶ ἀπόντος σου πολλάκις
τέκτονες μετεπέμφθησαν καὶ
ἐργάται καὶ ἕτερα πράγματα, καὶ ἠ-
δέσθησαν οἱ συνάρχοντες ἡμῶν
τὴν ἀπουσίαν ⟨σου⟩. μή πού ⟨γε⟩ σοῦ ἐπιδη-
μοῦντος οὐκ ἄν τις τολμήσαι ὀνο-
μάσαι τινα τῶν διαφερόντων
ἡμῖν; θάρσει οὖν, πατήρ, περὶ τού-
του. ἐπ'ὀνομάτων ⟨γὰρ⟩ ἠθέλησεν
Σαραπίων ὁ ἐπίτροπος τριά-

3 l. ἐπέστειλας 9 τολμησαι: αι corr.

κοντα τέκτονας ἀποσταλῆναι
ἐπὶ τὸν Τραϊανὸν ποταμόν, ἐς-
πέρας δὲ ἐπεδήμησαι ἡμῖ(ν)
Διόσκορος καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσα διὰ
τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ὥρας τὰ ὀνόμα-
τα αὐτῶν ἐκλαβεῖν καὶ ἐπιστῖ-
λαί σοι. αὔριον οὖν ἐπιστέλλω
σοι καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν μετα-
πεμφθέντων. ἤκουσα οὖν ὅτι
τὰ συνήθη πάσχεις καὶ διὰ τὴν
αἰτίαν ταύτην παρ'ἐμαυτῷ με-
μένηκα τὴν σήμερον. σὺν θεῷ
δὲ κἀγώ σοι καταλήμψομαι τῆς
ὑγίας σου ἕνεκεν. ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχο-
μαι.

Downwards in the left margin:

ἀπέστιλά σοι οὖν καὶ τὰ ἀποσταλέντα μοι ἀπὸ πόλεως ὑπὸ Εὐδαίμονος γράμματα,
καὶ τὰ βιβλία ἅπερ ἠθέλησας κατὰ τοῦ Σαρμάτου δοθῆναι δέδωκα.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

κυρίῳ μου πατρὶ Ἀπολλωνίωι (vac.) Θεόδωρος.

Back, top left, upwards along the fibres: ρυερ̣. θ̣ſ.

Back, upwards along the fibres: 3 lines of shorthand.

15 τραϊανον 16 ἐπεδήμησαι: αι corr.; l. ἐπεδήμησε; ημῖ 17 ἴσχυσα 19–20 l. ἐπιστεῖλαι
26 σοι: l. σε 27 ὑγίας: υ and ι corr.; l. ὑγιείας 29 l. ἀπέστειλα

'To my lord father Apollonius, Theodorus, greetings. You wrote to me about the carpenters. Even in your absence carpenters were often sent for, as well as labourers and other things, and our fellow magistrates respected your absence. Surely then, while you are at home, no-one would dare to nominate any of the people belonging to us? So be confident, father, on this point. For Sarapion the procurator wanted thirty carpenters to be sent to the Trajan river upon nomination, but Dioscorus got home to us in the evening and I was not able by reason of the hour to extract their names and write to you. So tomorrow I will write you also the names of those who have been sent for. I heard indeed that you are suffering from your usual troubles, but for this reason I have stayed at home for today. With god's help I too shall visit you on account of your health. I pray that you are well.'

'I have, then, sent you also the letter sent to me from town by Eudaemon and the petition which you wanted to be delivered against Sarmates I have delivered.'

Back: 'To my lord father Apollonius, Theodorus.'

2 Theodorus should be a magistrate of Oxyrhynchus, see 7 *οἱ συνάρχοντες ἡμῶν*. No suitable candidate appears in the lists in A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 131–47, but a later publication, XLV **3255**, gives one: Theodorus alias Chaeremon, ex-gymnasiarch, ex-prytanis, and former councillor of Oxyrhynchus, evidently dead by the date of the document, which is 6 November, AD 315.

3 For *ὡς* plus preposition see *LSJ* s.v. *ὡς* C. II.

9 *οὐκ ἄν τις τολμήσαι*. A correction of the final syllable looks as if it gave *-ει* over *-αι*, but that seems hardly likely, unless an intention to correct *-αι* to *-ειε*, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 360, was not carried out properly.

11 For *πατήρ* = *πάτερ* see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 62.

13 *Σαραπίων ὁ ἐπίτροπος*. This is presumably a procurator. He is unknown, unless he can be identified with the *rationalis* Aurelius Sarapion, in office *c.*AD 310, see A. E. Hanson, *ZPE* 8 (1971) 15; add now P. Vindob. Tandem 4.4–5 n. This seems unlikely in view of the high status of the *rationalis*, but *ἐπίτροπος* would be a correct, if vague, description, and the possibility remains.

13–15 Canal work took place at the season of lowest Nile, just before the flood in mid-July. Arrangements were usually made somewhat earlier, in March and April, see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Aegyptus* 43 (1963) 77–8, and this letter must have been written during the time of preparation.

This is the first attestation of the recruitment of carpenters to work on the Trajan canal. The designation *ἐργάτης*, 'workman', cf. 6 above, occurs in XII **1426** (AD 332), PSI I 87, VI 689 (both AD 423), although in the last item one of the persons may have been a specialist, perhaps a *εἰπουργός*. The verb *ἀπεργάσασθαι* in P. Cair. Isid. 81.11 (AD 297) may imply that the function there was that of *ἐργάτης*. Carpenters may have worked particularly on locks, or perhaps on timber cladding for the canal banks.

For Trajan's canal in general see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Aegyptus* 43 (1963) 70–83; add now P. Wash. Univ. I 7. It ran from Babylon (near Cairo) to Heroonpolis (near Suez), linking the Nile with the Red Sea.

20 *αὔριον . . . ἐπιστέλλω*. For the present used colloquially for the future see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 102–7 §§ 214–21.

26 *σοι*. We expect *σε* with *καταλαμβάνω*, but the sense is practically 'I shall come to you', so he may have had some verb such as *ἔρχομαι* in mind.

29–30 Lines in the margin like this are very frequent in letters, cf. e.g. **3913** 86–7. Compare too Cic., *ad Att.* v i. 3 *nunc uenio ad transuersum illum extremae epistulae tuae uersiculum . . .*, 'I come now to the line in the margin at the end of your letter . . .' (trans. D. R. Shackleton-Bailey, *Atticus*, Vol. III p. 5). The word *transuersum* seems to indicate that the line was in a side margin and not at the head or foot: translate perhaps 'the line at right angles (in the margin)'.

31 The blank space in the address falls at about the middle of the height of the sheet and was the place for a strip of binding material to be put around the letter when it was folded, cf. XLVIII **3396** 32 n., **3813** 88 n., **3815** introd. para. 3. There is no design to mark the spot.

32–5 The shorthand and what appears to be a short and abbreviated Greek endorsement would have been hidden, if they were there, when the letter was folded to be sent. It is perhaps more likely that they are notes made by the recipient. The Greek is on the right and level with the second line of the shorthand; before theta, upsilon and epsilon seem the best possibilities. The first two letters were awkwardly placed and spaced. Close before these is what I take to be a shorthand symbol or combination of symbols, but it is nearly 3 cm to the right of the second line of shorthand.

3815. Eusebius to Apollonius

38 3B.84/J(6–8)b 12.5 × 11.5 cm Third/fourth century

After the prescript Eusebius plunges without compliments into the topic of the care of his 'lord son Sabinus'. He is confident that Apollonius is taking some thought for Sabinus, and trusts that a certain Epagathus, perhaps a *paedagogus*, will have orders from Apollonius to keep close to him, since he is a child and needs not to be led into undisciplined behaviour. If a group of women, 'Adora and company', persist in their riotous behaviour, they are to be checked by his 'lady daughter' Ptolemais and by Apollonius. Another 'lady daughter' may be mentioned in the damaged sentence with which the letter breaks off, unless this refers again to Ptolemais.

See **3813–15** introd. for the contribution which **3815** makes to the family tree if we take the terms of kinship literally. The anxiety of Eusebius makes it reasonably likely that Sabinus was his son, but the other terms are as likely to denote affection and respect as relationship by blood.

There is a sheet-join running vertically very close to the right edge, which shows that the piece was cut from a roll in the normal way and that the letter is written on the recto along the fibres. Only the top, with thirteen lines of writing, survives. The address was written downwards on the back along the fibres. About half of it survives, the blank space after *Ἀπολλωνίῳ* (14) being in all probability the place where a binding was placed around the middle of the package produced by folding the letter, cf. **3814** 31 n. If this is right, about half of the letter too is lost.

κυρίῳ μου υἱῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ Εὐσέβιος
χαίρειν.
ὅτι μέλει σοι τοῦ κυρίου μου υἱοῦ Σαβείνου
τεθάρρηκα. τὸ δὲ παῖδα αὐτὸν ὄντα δέεσθαι
τοῦ μὴ εἰς [ἀ]ταξείαν τρέπεσθαι, καὶ περὶ τού-
του πιστεύω ὅτι ἐντολὰς λήμψετε παρὰ
σοῦ ὁ Ἐπάγαθος ὥστε αὐτῷ προσκαρτε-
ρῖν. εἰ δὲ καὶ αἱ ⟦ c. 10 letters ⟧ 'περὶ τὴν Ἀδωρᾶν' ἐκεῖναι ἐπι-
μένοιεν τῷ αὐτῷ στρήνι, ἀνακοπτέ-
στωσαν διὰ τῆς σῆς, τοῦ ἐμοῦ κυρίου,
ἐπιστρεφίας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ⟦ῆς⟧ κυρίας
μου θυ[γ]ατρὸς Πτολεμαΐδος. τὴν γὰρ
κυρίαν μ[ου θυ]γατέρα κ̣[. . . .]. .[. . .].
. . . . .

Back, downwards along the fibres:

κυρίῳ μου υἱῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ (vac.) [

1 *υἵῳ* 3 *υἱου*; l. *Σαβίνου* 5 l. *ἀταξίαν* 6 l. *λήμψεται* 7–8 l. *προσκαρτερεῖν* 9 l. *στρήνει* 9–10 l. *ἀνακοπτέσθωσαν* 11 l. *ἐπιστρεφείας* 12 *πτολεμαϊδος* 14 *υ* corr. from *α*

'To my lord son Apollonius, Eusebius, greetings. I am confident that you are taking an interest in my lord son Sabinus. As for the fact that he is a child and should not be led into indiscipline, I believe that in this respect too Epagathus will receive instructions from you to stay by him. And if those women, Adora and company, persist in the same insolent behaviour, let them be checked by your severity, my lord, and by (that of?) my lady daughter Ptolemais. For . . . my lady daughter G . . . (?) . . .'

Back. 'To my lord son Apollonius . . .'

4 *δέεσθαι*. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 371.

8–9 *εἰ . . . ἐπιμένοιεν*. This is not a vague future conditional, but merely a future one, see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, 283–5 §§649–50. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 359–61 for the revival of the optative.

The deletion in 8 has been done very thoroughly in heavy ink. Whatever was there was probably an uncomplimentary description of 'Adora and company'.

8 *Ἀδωρᾶν*. The declension of this name is odd in that the genitive seems to be in *-ᾶ* like the nominative, see P. Cair. Isid. 90.1; 95.1, cf. 6.128; 9.66, 176; 12.8; 17.9. *Ἀδωρᾶν* acc. also occurs in P. Giss. Univ. Bibl. 32.24. P. Mich. VI 376.4 n. refers to Coptic examples.

11 ⟦*σῆς*⟧. A repetition of *τῆς* is perhaps also possible, but palaeographically *σῆς* looks more likely. It will be an accidental reminiscence from line 10.

12 The horizontal cap of the sigma of *Πτολεμαΐδος* was extended to fill the end of the line. Then *τὴν χάρ*, if *χάρ* is the correct reading of this rapid scrawl, was added below the horizontal.

13 Possibly *κ*[begins the name of a second 'lady daughter', but the expression may refer back to Ptolemais.

14 Cf. introd. para. 3.

υἱῷ. It may be that he began to write *α* for *ἀδέλφῳ*, see app. crit., cf. introd. para. 2.

3816. Ptoleminus to Sinthonis

95/78(a) 10 × 25 cm Third/fourth century

This letter and the next one (**3817**) may be added to the list of papyri which seem to reflect epidemics of infectious diseases in Egypt. The evidence has recently been treated by G. Casanova, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 163–201, *Atti del XVII Congr. Int. di Papirologia* iii 949–56, *YCS* 28 (1985) 145–54. (For convincing arguments against his interpretation and dating of the gravestones of Terenuthis see J. Bingen in C. Saerens *et al.* (edd.), *Studia Varia Bruxellensia* (1987) 3–14.) The writer of this letter had been ill and in danger of death, he says. One of his friends had been ill for some time past, receiving treatment 'ever so many times' to his feet or legs, and was perhaps getting worse. The effect on the legs seems to have been characteristic of the epidemics of the period, see 6–7 n.

Unfortunately the date can only be determined roughly. The script is a rapid sloping cursive, written by a practised hand, of the late third or early fourth century. The rare name Palex (16) occurs also in XIV **1670** and **1716**. In **1716** of AD 333 an Aurelius Palex son of Parammon has a wife called Aurelia Sinthonis daughter of Thonis. In **1670** Palex writes to a lady called Chinthonis, his 'sister', and sends greetings to a Ptoleminus and his wife. The greeting is repeated in the same terms (22–3, 30–1); this is probably inadvertence, though it is possible that two men of the same name were meant. Grenfell and Hunt assigned **1670** to the third century, but the clumsy hand could well be fourth. The mention of the *officium* of a *rationalis* (*καθολικοῦ* 10) rather suggests late third or fourth, because after one isolated case in the reign of the Philips, *c.*AD 246, the regular series of Egyptian *rationales* does not begin till AD 286, see P. J. Parsons, *JRS* 57 (1967) 138–9. The only other occurrence of a Palex is in XVI **2058** 74, from the sixth century. It seems possible that **1670**, **1716**, and **3816** all come from the same circle. If so, the epidemic probably belongs in the early fourth century. There was a plague in the territory of Maximinus Daia *c.*AD 311/12 with which it could possibly be connected, see *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 166.

The writing is along the fibres. A sheet-join running vertically near the right edge shows that the piece for the letter was cut from a roll in the usual way. The creases and patterns of damage show that the letter was rolled up with the right edge inside and squashed flat so as to produce five vertical creases dividing it into six panels increasing in width from right to left. The exposed left hand panel was tucked in so as to avoid damage to the edge, and the address was written on the outside of the flattened roll on the second panel from the left. A space was left in the middle of the address, at which point a thin ligature was tied round the package. Patterns were inked over the ligature on both flat sides, consisting of five parallel lines on the address side and an irregular lattice of crossing lines on the other. The interruption of the patterns shows where the ligature once ran. I do not recall seeing two patterns for one binding before, cf. XLVIII **3396** 32 n. and Pl. VI there.

Πτολεμεῖνος ‘καὶ Χαιρήμων’ Σινθώνι
ἀδελφῇ χαίρειν.
πρό γε πάντων εὐχόμαι ‘θα’ τῷ θεῷ
ὅπως ὁλόκληρόν σε ἀπολάβω ‘μεγ’. γνῶ-
ναί σε θέλω ὅτι Ἀχιλλεὺς πάνοι νο-
σῖ κα̣ὶ ἐχιρίσθη ποσάκις εἰς τοὺς πό-
δας καὶ τὰ ἕως ἄρτι νοσῖ καὶ σχεδόν τι
προσέτι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐδυνή-
θην λαλῆσαι αὐτῷ. κ̣ά̣χὼ ἠσθένη-
σα πάνοι καὶ εἰς θάνατον. ἀλλὰ
καὶ εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ καλῶς
ἔσχηκα. καὶ περὶ ὧν χρῄ-
ζις γράψον μοι, ἀδελφή. καὶ
ποσάκις ϛρι ἔγραψα καὶ οὐκ ἀντέ-
γραψάς μ̣ο̣ι. ἄσπασον τὸν ἀ-
δελφὸν ἡμῶν Παλὲξ καὶ τὴν μη-
τέραν ἡμῶν καὶ πάντα σου τὸν
οἶκον κατ’ ὄνομα. (vac.)
(vac.)
ἐ̣ρ̣ρ̣ῶ̣σθαί σε εὖ-
χομαι, ἀδελφή.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

ἀπόδ(ος) Σινθώνι (design) *π(αρὰ) Πτολεμείνου.*

1 l. *Πτολεμῖνος, Σινθώνει* 3 l. *εὐχόμεθα* 5 l. *πάνυ* 5–6 l. *νοσεῖ* 6 l. *ἐχειρίσθη* 7 l. *νοσεῖ* 8 *ουκ'εδυνη* 9 *κ̣ά̣χώ*: *γ* corr. from *ι*? 10 l. *πάνυ* 12–13 l. *χρῄζεις* 14 *ουκ'αντε* 16–17 l. *μητέρα* 21 *απο*^{s}; l. *Σινθώνει*; *π′*; l. *Πτολεμίνου*

'Ptoleminus and Chaeremon to Sinthonis their sister, greetings.'

'Before all we pray to god that we find you well. I want you to know that Achilles is very ill and has had treatment ever so many times to the feet and has been ill right up to the present and is perhaps even more so, and because of that I couldn't talk to him. I was very sick myself, at death's door even. However, I thank god I have got well.'

'Write to me about the things you need, sister. I wrote to you ever so many times and you didn't answer me.'

'Greet our brother Palex and our mother and all your household by name.'

'I pray for you health, sister.'

Address: 'Deliver to Sinthonis from Ptoleminus."

1 *'καὶ Χαιρήμων'*. The verbs in lines 3 and 4 have been changed to the plural to suit this addition, but the rest remain singular and the address fails to mention Chaeremon.

3 *τῷ θεῷ*. Cf. 11. This is not necessarily an indication of Christianity, see M. Naldini, *Cristianesimo*, 7–10.

6 *ἐχιρίσθη* = *ἐχειρίσθη*. The verb is used of treatment with medicines or instruments, see H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus*, s.v. *χειρίζω*.

For the colloquial use of *ποσάκις*, in which it is virtually equivalent to *πλειονάκις*, cf. line 14 below, III **528** 24 *ἐδού, ποσάρκεις ἔπεμσα ἐπὶ σέ* (l. *ἰδού, ποσάκις ἔπεμψα*), P. Aberd. 70. 2–3 *ἔγραφά [σοι] ποσάκις* (both 2nd cent.), P. Harr. II 235.3, 13 *ποσάκις σοι ἐδήλωσα, ποσάκις σν ἐδήλωσα* (3rd–4th cent.), XLVIII **3396** 4–5 *ποσάκεις ἔγραψα ὑμεῖν* (4th cent.), P. Apoll. 14.4 *[ἰ]δοὺ ποσάκις ἔγραψαν αὐτῇ* (*c.*AD 705–6).

6–7 *εἰς τοὺς πόδας*. An effect on the feet, or legs, for *πούς* can mean 'the foot with the leg', as *χείρ* can mean 'the hand with the arm', see LSJ s.v. *πούς*, is prominent in the references to ancient epidemics. In P. Strassb. I 73.10–15 the writer says that he, a woman (possibly his wife?), and her children have been ill; one person, probably one of the children (*ὁ μικρὸς Μῖμος*), has died; he himself after the disease was still suffering from a skin condition of the foot or leg, *κατὰ τοῦ ποδός μου ερισυπολν* (= *ἐρυσίπελας*). Thucydides wrote (II 49.7–8) that in the Athenian epidemic, which he thought came from Ethiopia by way of Egypt, the infection began by affecting the head, travelled downwards, and, if not fatal earlier, finally attacked the extremities, *κατέσκηπτε γὰρ ἐς αἰδοῖα καὶ ἐς ἄκρας χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, καὶ πολλοὶ στερισκόμενοι τούτων διέφευγον*. In the epidemic described by Cyprian, *De mortalitate*, 14, some people lost feet or parts of limbs. The date of it is *c.*AD 252–3, see *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 175.

7–8 *σχεδήγ τι προσέτι*. I am not entirely sure what is meant. I have taken it to mean that the patient is ill and perhaps getting worse. The writer may possibly have left out a word; 'he is ill and perhaps he is . . . (?) as well'. The end of *σχεδήγ* is doubtful, but no more plausible reading has been thought of. It is not *σχεδήν*.

The fact that *προσετι* might be a phonetic spelling of *προσαιτεῖ* seems unhelpful. In a suitable context the clause might mean 'and he is almost reduced to begging for a living', but that does not fit well with what follows here, 'and for that reason I could not talk to him'. The reason ought to be severe illness.

8 *ουκ'*. Cf. 14. For this use of the apostrophe, not common before the third century, see E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* p. 13 and n. 4 (= ed. 2, p. 11 and n. 51).

9–10 Cf. NT Joh. 11.4, *αὕτη ἡ ἀσθένεια οὐκ ἔστι πρὸς θάνατον*.

16 *Παλέξ*. See introd.

3817. Private Letter

71/22(b) 12.5 × 7 cm Third/fourth century

This fragment gives us nine lines little damaged from the last column of a private letter and the ends of seven lines of the preceding column, as well as a few indeterminate traces along the top and bottom edges. The writing runs along the fibres, but there is no trace of a sheet join to confirm the probability that the written side is the recto. The back is blank.

The writer mentions an epidemic disease, cf. **3816** introd. Lines 11–15 run, '. . . (they) died of the disease. For if anyone among us in the village falls ill, they do not rise (from their beds)'. The word for disease is *κατασ*τέμματι (l. *κατασ*τήματι or *-στέματι*), which recalls *τῷ λοιμικῷ κατασ*τήματι in P. Thmouis I col. 104.16, referring fairly clearly to the plague associated with the Parthian expedition of Lucius Verus, see the editor's note and introduction p. 29. This passage of P. Thmouis, published in 1985, modifies G. Casanova, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 176, *Atti del XVII Congresso* iii 954.

It is very difficult to assign a date to the writing of **3817**, a rapid uneven semi-cursive, influenced by the severe style, laterally compressed, with very noticeable long descenders. My feeling is that it is not as early as the reign of Marcus in spite of the coincidence of terminology, but rather of the third or perhaps even fourth century. There seems to be nothing to justify associating the document with any particular episode of plague.

col. i

. . . . . .

]. . . . . [

]. . τα καινότερα καὶ ου

ἀ]πόστιλον, ἵνα δυνηθῶ

]. ἀπὸ τ᾽ο᾽ῦ νῦν εὐθυμήσω

] ἔγραψέν σοι ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶ(ν)

] ἐπίστιλόν μοι τὰ γραφέν-

τα]μ. εἰ δὲ οὔ, σὺ αὐτὸς ἴδε τὸν

] χ[ό]μενον εἰς τὰ ἀνὰ μέρη

]. . . . . [. . . . .]. [. .]

. . . . . .

col. ii

. . . . . .

.]. [. . . .]. [. . . . . .

ἀπέθανον τῷ κατασ*τέμ-

ματι. ἐὰν γάρ τις νοσήσῃ

τῶν παρ᾽ἡμῖν ὄντων

ἐν τῇ κώμῃ, οὐκ ἐγίρον-

ται. πάντα οὖν ὑπερθέ-

μενος, ἀντίγραψόν μοι

καὶ περὶ τοὺς παρὰ Ὡρίωνα

καὶ Ἑρμαῖον. ἐὰν καὶ Ἑρμαῖ-

ον ε᾽ὕ᾽ρῃς, ποίησον αὐτ[ὸν

. . . . .]. [. . .]. [. . . . . .

. . . . . .

3 l. *ἀπόστειλον*; *ἵνα* 5 *ημω̃* 6 l. *ἐπίστειλον* 7 *ἴδε* 8 l. *ἄνω*? 11 l. *κατασ*τήματι or *-στέματι* 14–15 l. *ἐγείρονται*

11–19 '. . . (they) died of the disease. For if anyone among us in the village falls ill, they do not rise (from their sick-beds). So put off everything and write me an answer about Horion and Hermaeus and company. If you do find Hermaeus, make (him?) . . .'

2 8 In 3 4 *δυνηθῶμεν*, *-θῶσι*, and *εὐθυμήσωμεν*, *-σωσι*, are also conceivable. Col. ii is just over 5 cm wide; the ends of i are just over 6 cm wide, and it is clear that i was wider still, possibly much wider. The

following conjecturally restored text shows some short possibilities that have occurred to me, but has no objective value.

]. . *τὰ καινότερα καὶ οὗ*
χρήζω ἀ]πόστιλον, ἵνα δυνηθῶ
ζῆν κα]ὶ ἀπὸ τ'ο'ῦ νῦν εὐθυμήσω.
εἰ μὲν] ἔγραψέν σοι ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶ(ν),
εὐθέως] ἐπίστιλόν μοι τὰ γραφέν-
τα σο]ι. εἰ δὲ οὔ, σὺ αὐτὸς ἴδε τὸν
ἀνε]ρχ[ό]μενον εἰς τὰ ἀνὰ (l. *ἄνω*?) *μέρη.*

'. . . the newer ones, and send off what I need, so that I can live and from now on be in good spirits. If our brother (colleague?) wrote you, send me immediately what was written to you. If not, look out yourself for a person going up to the upper regions'.

At any rate there seems to be nothing here to amplify what the writer says about the epidemic in col. ii.

7 *εἰ δὲ οὔ* = *εἰ δὲ μή*. I cannot recall seeing *οὔ* in this collocation before, but it seems a natural development from the postclassical use of *εἰ οὔ* in protases, see Blass–Debrunner–Rehkopf, *Gramm. d. neutestamentlichen Griechisch*[15] pp. 356–7 (§428), E. Mayser, *Grammatik* ii.2 p. 552 (§138 ii.b).

8 *ἀνά* (l. *ἄνω*?). *ἀνὰ μέρη* could conceivably be right, cf. *ἀνὰ μέρος* (*LSJ* s.v. *ἀνά* C.IV, s.v. *μέρος* II.2), but this cuts *ἀνὰ μέρη* off from the preceding *εἰς τά* in an implausible way, and it is hard to see how to go on. For *εἰς τὰ ἄνω μέρη* cf. P. Lond. VI 1917.18, 23 (*c.*AD 330–40). The translation there has 'to the Upper Country' and it is suggested in the introduction (p. 81) that the phrase refers to the Thebaid. To judge from the geographical implications of *ἀνά*, *κατά*, and cognates, for which see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* i 493 n. 36, it could mean country districts as distinct from some nome capital, the desert hills as opposed to the Nile valley, or, most likely, southern regions, e.g. the Thebaid, as opposed to northern.

11–12 See introd.

καταστέμματι. *LSJ* tells us that *κατάστημα* is the basic form, with *κατάστεμα* as a variant (LXX 3Ma.5.45), cf. C. D. Buck, W. Petersen, *A Reverse Index* 222. The doubling of the mu made no difference to the pronunciation, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 154–5, 157–8. So far *κατάστεμμα* is not attested, although *LSJ* gives *καταστεφής*, *-στέφω*, *-στεψις*, and G. W. H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, gives **καταστεμματίζω*.

14–15 *οὐκ ἐγ(ε)ίρονται*, 'they do not rise (from their sick-beds)'. Cf. *LSJ* s.v. *ἐγείρω* I. 3.

17–18 *περὶ τοὺς παρὰ Ὡρίωνα καὶ Ἑρμαῖον*. The accusatives are odd. Probably the writer had in mind a normal phrase such as *οἱ περὶ Ὡρίωνα κτλ.*, 'Horion and company', which induced him to write *τούς* instead of *τῶν* after *περί*; then, to avoid repeating *περί*, he wrote *παρά*, but continued with accusatives instead of the appropriate datives.

3818. Business Letter

32 4B.2/F(2–3)a 12.5 × 19.5 cm Fourth century (*c.*318?)

This brief note instructs the recipient to give a jar of honey on the sender's behalf to the *princeps* of a procurator, an officer not hitherto attested in the papyri, see 5–6 n.

The change of hand for lines 10–12 indicates that the body of the letter was written by a clerk, while Parit, in spite of his pure Egyptian name, wrote the farewell in a fluent hand with correct spelling.

The cursive hands belong to the fourth century. There is some possibility that the letter can be dated to the neighbourhood of AD 318 through the identification of Ammonius the *princeps* with his namesake in XII **1424**, although this is not certain, see 5–6 n.

κυρ[ί]ῳ μου ἀδελφῶι Κολλού'θωι'
Παρῖτ χαίρειν.
τοὺς δεκατρῖς ξέστας τοῦ μέ-
λιτος ὧν ἔχεις μοι, δὸς τῷ
ἀδελφῷ ἡμῶν Ἀμμωνίῳ,
τῷ πρίνγιπι τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου,
κεράμιον. ἀλλ'ὅρα μὴ ἀμελή-
σῃς, κύριε ἄδελφε. εὑρὲ
οὖν αὐτῷ κάλλιστον.
(m. 2) *ἐρρῶσθαί σε*
εὔχομαι πολλοῖς
χρόνοις.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

] *κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῶι* (vac.) *Κρλλ[ούθῳ*

2 *παριτ'* 3 l. *δεκατρεῖς* 6 l. *πρίγκιπι*

'To my lord brother Colluthus, Parit, greetings.'

'As for the thirteen pints of honey which you are holding for me, give a jar (from them) to our brother Ammonius, the chief of the procurator's staff. See that you don't be neglectful, my lord brother. Find a very nice one for him.' (2nd hand) 'I pray for your health for many years'.

Back. 'To my lord brother Colluthus . . .'

1 *Κολλού'θωι'*. The remains of the doubtful iota are faint and may be accidental ink.

2 *Παρῖτ*. Cf. XLIV **3184**b 14, 18 and nn. As there, the indeclinable Egyptian name is marked by an apostrophe after the tau, cf. E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts* p. 13 (= ed. 2, p. 11).

3 *ξέστας*. Cf. A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* p. xv for the approximation 1 *sextarius* = 1 pint = 0.57 litres.

4 The cap of the sigma of *μέλιτος* is extended and the following omega is written underneath it. Across the tip of the cap of sigma there is a short vertical. There is a possibility that this is intended to be an economical way of writing a rough breathing for *ὧν*. Alternatively, it may be an accidental mark made in turning back to the omega.

5–6 *πρίνγιπι* = *πρίγκιπι*. See F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 165–72, esp. 170–1 (assimilation of nasals), 77–80, esp. 79 (b. 2; *κ* > *γ*). From Gignac's index, p. 358 s.v. *πρίγκιψ*, it seems that this particular variant has not occurred before.

The *princeps* of a procurator has not occurred before. The prefect's *princeps officii* is mentioned in XIV **1637** 10 (AD 257–9) and L **3570** 6 (*c.*AD 285), that of the *praeses Arcadiae* in P. Haun. III 57.2–3 (*c.*AD 415), XVI **1880** 3, **1881** 3 (both AD 427), and PSI X 1114.2 (AD 454), and that of the *praeses Herculiae* or *praeses Mercurianae* in XIV **1722** 1 (*c.*AD 314–25), see L **3574** 3–4 n., which must now be modified to allow the possibility of *Αἰγύπ[του Μερκουριανῆς* as well as *Αἰγύπ[του 'Ηρκουλίας*, see J. D. Thomas, *BASP* 21 (1984) 225–34. The *princeps* of P. Flor. III 377.25 (VI) is most likely to be the *princeps officii* of the *dux* mentioned in line 24. Outside the *militia officialis* there are the *princeps castrorum Dionysiados* in P. Flor. I 36 (= M. *Chr.* 64).19 (AD 312) and P. Lond. II 409 (= P. Abinn. 10).12 (*c.*AD 340?), on whom see P. Abinn. Introd. p. 15, the *princeps* associated with Dalmatian troops in XII **1513** 16 (IV ed. pr., perhaps slightly earlier), and those associated with military officers in the building inscriptions SB I 1598 and V 7800 (Byz.).

The other references to a *princeps* without certain indication of his sphere of action, taken from S. Daris, *Lessico Latino*, are: P. Flor. II 278 v 3 (p. 262; *c.*AD 266/7?), P. Berl. Möller 8.7, XVII **2144** 15 (both late III), XIX **2228** 21 (*c.*AD 285; the note in ed. pr. adds 'sc. *τῆς ἡγεμονίας*', which is not certain), XII **1424** 22, cf. 2 (*c.*AD 318), P. Erl. 105.51, SPP XX 85 r. i 20 (both IV), P. Flor. III 325.8 (AD 488), SPP III 168.1 (V), SB I 2253.8, 9, VIII **1108** 3 (all Byz.). In the context of P. Flor. III 336 *πρέχκ[εψ* (4) carries no conviction. In P. Hamb. I 9.5 the *μηχ(ανάριος) πρίνκιπος κώ(μης) Θεαδελφείας* seems to fall completely outside the normal range of uses, see ed. pr. and M. San Nicolò, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen* ii 61. The same man appears again in line 24, in a similar tax receipt for three years later, as *μη]χ(ανάριος) χαρε.[..]ς κώ(μης) Θεαδελ(φείας)*. A photograph confirms the readings. I am inclined to seek refuge in the name *Πρίγκεψ*, cf. BGU IV 1046.8(?), 1172.[2], 5, 13. In that case *κῶ* after *Πρίνκιπος* (5) and *Χαρε.[..]ς* (24) should be expanded to *κω(μογραμματέως)*, cf. Z. Borkowski, D. Hagedorn, *Le Monde Grec. Hommages . . . C. Préaux* 781–2 n. 4. The *μηχ(ανάριος)* looks like an employee who continued to work for the *κωμογραμματεία* even when the village scribe changed.

To Daris's references add now P. Monac. III 126.8, P. Laur. I 10.3, *Tyche* 1 (1986) 112 line 19. The contexts of all are obscure.

There is some possibility that our Ammonius *princeps* is the same as the sender of XII **1424**, an Ammonius described in the address (22) as *πρίγκιψ*, and in the prescript (2) as (*ἑκατοντάρχης*). I do not know why the usual abbreviation is doubled in that place, but the photograph shows $\overline{\text{πρ}}$ clearly. The letter is addressed to a man called Heras, whom the editors identified with the *praepositus pagi* Heras alias Dionysius of **1425**, dated AD 318, because the two documents were found together. The same man also appears in XVII **2113**, **2114**, and **2124**, without his alias in the first two. The association of **3818** with **1424–5** is obviously not certain, but it has a fair chance of being right, and so giving us a clue to the date.

At that period there was no prefect of Egypt, see LI **3619** introd., LIV **3756** introd., 7 n., 9 n., and Oxyrhynchus was in Aegyptus Herculia or in Aegyptus Mercuriana. We already have a reference to a *princeps* of the *praeses* of one of those provinces, see above on XIV **1722**, but *ἐπιτρόπου* is very unlikely to refer to a *praeses*, properly *ἡγεμών* or *ἡγούμενος* at this date. Similarly a *rationalis* or *magister* would probably have had his proper title, *καθολικός*, *μάγιστρος*. We know that there was a *procurator Heptanomiae* still in AD 316, after the creation of Herculia, see XVII **2114**, which is, incidentally, addressed to the same *praepositus pagi* as **1425**. It seems likeliest that this is the procurator whose *officium* was headed by Ammonius. See XLII **3031** introd. for the little that is known of his functions. For this period there are at present no other procurators who are certainly attested as being active, but it can hardly be that there were none. Especially there was probably still a *procurator priuatae*.

13 We expect nothing before *κυρίῳ*, and after *Κρλλ[ούθῳ* only *Παρῖτ* or *π(αρὰ) Παρῖτ*.

3819. Letter of Condolence

38 3B.84/J(4 5)a 15.5 × 17 cm Early fourth century

Julius wrote the letter to his 'father' Demetrius and his 'sister' Apollonia, chiefly to comfort them on the death of his 'mother' Sarapias. The terms of blood relationship need not be taken literally, and indeed the conventionality of the language rather suggests that they should not be. Perhaps, for example, Sarapias was the wife of Demetrius and the mother of Apollonia, while Julius was just a friend of the family, cf. **3808** introd., **3812** 17 n., **3813–15** introd. para. 2, **3820** 1 n.

Other letters of condolence which show some resemblances to this one are I **115** (= W. *Chr.* 479, cf. A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*[4], 143–5), P. Princ. II 102 (= M. Naldini, *Cristianesimo*, No. 34), P. Ross.-Georg. III 2, PSI XII 1248. Add perhaps P. Rainer Cent. 70 and P. Wisc. II 84. A more elaborate example is CPR VI 81, revised in *ZPE* 62 (1986) 75–8.

The *παραμυθητική* was one of the standard types in the ancient collections of epistolary models, but, as usual among the real letters, this one only remotely recalls the model and at the end seems to have turned to a practical matter; see on this topic P. J. Parsons, *Didactica Classica Gandensia* 20 (1980) 8.

A point of interest is that the writer uses the rare verb *δυνατεῖν*, which is virtually restricted to the Epistles of St Paul, see 9–11 n. He gets the construction wrong, but the reminiscence suggests that he was a Christian.

The script is a very fluent and practised cursive, probably of the first half of the fourth century, though there is no need to place it surprisingly early in the century.

The piece of papyrus was cut from a roll in the usual fashion, as shown by a sheet-join running vertically *c.*8 cm from the left edge, and the letter was written along the fibres of the recto. The address is written downwards along the fibres of the verso. After the addressee's name and title is a pattern once associated with a ligature which tied up the folded letter, cf. XLVIII **3396** 32 n. and Pl. VI. This pattern shows that the letter was rolled up and flattened into a spill of the same height as the letter and that a single ligature, probably a strip of papyrus, was tied round the middle of it. The address was written on one of the flat sides straddling the ligature. A series of short parallel lines, ten in all, was drawn on both sides of the spill over the binding strip, perpendicular to it and parallel with the long sides of the spill. Now that the strip has been lost, the central portions of these lines have been removed and only the ends survive. The distance from the top edge of the letter to the middle of the design is *c.*12.5 cm, which suggests that the original height was about 25 cm. The part lost at the foot must therefore have been about 6 cm deep, enough for six ordinary lines at the most; more probably there were three or four ordinary lines followed by a farewell formula and a lower margin.

κυρ[ί]ρις μου πατρὶ Δημητρίῳ καὶ
Ἀπολλωνίᾳ ἀδελφῇ Ἰούλιος
χαίρειν.
τυχὼν ‘τοῦ’ γεινομένου πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔσπευ-
σα πρῶτον μὲν προσαγορεῦσαι ὑμᾶς
διὰ τούτων μου τῶν γραμμάτων, ἔπι-
τα καὶ παραμυθήσασθαι ὑμᾶς. ὡς γὰρ
ἤκουσα περὶ τῆς μητρός μου Σαραπι-
άδος, πάνυ ἐλυπήθην. δυνατὶ οὖν
τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ ‘τοῦ λοιποῦ’ ἡμῖν τὴν ὁλοκλη-
ρίαν παρασχῖν. μὴ οὖν λυπεῖ‘σ’θαι.
ταῦτα γὰρ ἀνθρώπινά ἐστιν. ⟦κα⟧ ‘καὶ’ πᾶσι
γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦτο κεῖται. ὁ κολλήγας μου
ἐλθὼν μετέδωκέν μοι ὡς εἴηται
ε. . . . [.]αν[τ]ες τὸ δελματίκιον καί
. . . . .

Back, downwards along the fibres:

ἀ]πόδος Δημητρίῳ πατρὶ (design) π(αρὰ) Ἰουλίο[υ

2 ἴουλιος 4 l. γινομένου; ὕμας 5 ὕμας 6–7 l. ἔπειτα 7 ὕμας 9–10 l. δυνατεῖ οὖν ὁ κύριος θεός 11 l. παρασχεῖν, λυπεῖσθε 14 l. εἴητε 16 π′ ἰουλιο[υ

‘To (his) lord father Demetrius and the lady Apollonia (his) sister, Julius, greetings.’

‘Finding someone going in your direction I made haste first to greet you through this letter of mine, and then to comfort you. For when I heard about my mother Sarapias, I was greatly grieved. Well, the lord god has the power for the future to give us good health. So do not be grieved. For these things are (part of being) human. Indeed for all of us this is laid down. My colleague came and informed me that you have . . . ed the dalmatic and . . .’

‘Deliver to (his) father Demetrius from Julius.’

9–11 *δυνατί* (= *δυνατεῖ*) . . . *τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ* . . . *παρασχῖν* (= *παρασχεῖν*). Apart from one passage in Philodemus, *περὶ σημείων καὶ σημειώσεων* (T. Gomperz, *Herkulanische Studien*, Heft I), p. 14 (col. 11.7–8), I have found this rare verb only in the Epistles of St Paul. It means first ‘to be strong’ (II Cor. 13.3 . . . *Χριστοῦ, ὃς εἰς ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀσθενεῖ, ἀλλὰ δυνατεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν*); second, ‘to have the power (to do something)’ (Rom. 14.4 *σταθήσεται δέ. δυνατεῖ γὰρ ὁ Κύριος στῆσαι αὐτόν.*; II Cor. 9.8 *δυνατεῖ δὲ ὁ θεὸς πᾶσαν χάριν περισσεῦσαι εἰς ὑμᾶς*). Since our passage also refers to the power of god, it looks like a reminiscence of St Paul, but the writer seems not to have recalled the construction correctly. He used it as an impersonal verb, as if he had written *δύνατον* (*ἐστι*) or *ἔξεστι*.

It occurred to me to wonder if this sentence were an allusion to Christian salvation, since *σωτηρία* and *ὁλοκληρία* are almost synonymous in the sense of physical health. One can find *ὁλόκληρος* used of the resurrected body, see G. W. H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. 2(a), but this is hardly sufficient support for the idea.

13 *κολλήγας* = Lat. *collega*, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 12.

14–15 *ὡς εἴηται* (= *εἴητε*) *ε. . . . [.]αν[τ]ες*. Cf. **3808** 6–7, **3820** 12, 13–14. For the periphrastic perfect optative see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 305 6. The traces favour an aorist rather than a perfect participle. Perhaps read *ἐγκρί[ν]αν[τ]ες* (= *ἐγκ-*), ‘that you have approved the dalmatic’, but the remains are slight.

15 *δελματίκιον*. Cf. LI **3626** 18 n. for dalmatics. For various forms and cognates of the word see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 106, ii 8–9, 28.

16 After *Ἰουλίο[υ* there would have been room for *υἱοῦ* or *φίλου* or the like.

3820. Dioscorus to his Mother and Sarmates

41 5B.79/C(3–4)a 15.5 × 25 cm *c.*340?

Very interesting persons and things are mentioned in this letter—an imperial rescript, the *officium* of a *magister priuatae*, a *dux*, a eunuch who may well be an imperial *cubicularius*, a person called Philagrius who could be the known prefect of Egypt of that name. If Philagrius is the prefect, it is tempting to identify the eunuch as Arsacius (*PLRE* I 110.2), whom Constantius II sent with Philagrius when he appointed him prefect for a second term with the special task of installing Gregory the Cappadocian as Arian patriarch of Alexandria in opposition to the monophysite Athanasius. In that case the *dux* may well have been Valacius, whose judicial association with Gregory in persecuting monophysites is mentioned by Athanasius, *Hist. Arian.*, 12.3, *πόσοι τε ἄλλοι μονάζοντες ἐμαστίζοντο καθεζομένου Γρηγορίου μετὰ Βαλακίου τοῦ λεγομένου δουκός, πόσοι ἐπίσκοποι ἐκόπτοντο, πόσαι παρθένοι ἐτύπτοντο*!

However, like most private letters, this one is allusive and ambiguous, so that we get little more than a tantalizing glimpse of the activities of the courts and the officials. Dioscorus wrote home to his unnamed mother and his ‘brother’ Sarmates in Oxyrhynchus. We may guess with probability that he wrote from Alexandria, where the prefect of Egypt and the *magister* would normally reside. He was concerned in judicial business on behalf of his ‘brother’ Eulogius, on whose account, if the interpretation is right, he submitted the imperial rescript to the prefect. Further proceedings two days later took place in the court of the *magister priuatae*, who seems to have given him a satisfactory hearing and dismissed him. Some damage to the lower left corner makes the last few lines before the farewell greeting even less comprehensible than the rest.

The piece shows no sheet-joins. On the back, besides the remains of the address written downwards along the fibres, are two blocks of rough accounts written across the fibres, one near the top consisting of a heading and three lines ending in sums in myriads of denarii, the other, near the foot, of three lines, mostly numbers of aruras and artabas. Both are damaged and have not been fully deciphered.

τῇ δεσποίνῃ μου (vac.) μητρὶ καὶ κυρίῳ ἀδελφῷ
Ϛαρμάτῃ (vac.) Διόσκορος χαίρειν.
εὐπορηθὶς τοῦ κυρίου μου ἀδελφοῦ Παιανίου
ἀπερχο[μ]ένου ἔσπευς[α] προσελπεῖν ὑμῶν τὴν διάθεσιν,
ἔπειτ[α δηλῶ]σαί σοι περὶ τοῦ πράγματος
τοῦ κυρί[ου μ]ου ἀδελφοῦ Εὐλογίου ὅτι
ἀπεθέτη καὶ ἤδη ἀπαντῶμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς.
καὶ τὴν θίαν ἀντιγραφὴν παρεθέμην—
τὴν περὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων—τῷ κυρίῳ μου
Φιλαγρίῳ καὶ ὑπομνήματα συνεστάθη.
καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐκβῆναι τὸν ἀδελφό⟨ν⟩ μου
Ϲερῆνον ἤμην παραδοθὶς τῇ τάξι τοῦ μαγίστρου
καὶ μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας Εὐσεβίου ἐλθό⟨ν⟩τος—ἐπεὶ ἦν
ἀπελθὼν καταστῆσαι τὸν δοῦκα εἰς Ταπόσιριν—
ἰσήχθημεν καὶ ὁ εὐνοῦχος ἀπέστιλεν
πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνῖκέν με καὶ δεύτερα ὑπο-
μνήματα ἔπραξεν καὶ τελίως ἀνῖκεν αὐτούς.
. . . . .]. παραπεμφθῆναι τοὺς περὶ Ἑρμίαν καὶ Διδυ-
. . . . .]. ὑμᾶς καταλαμβάνω. ἐὰν ἀκούσητε
. . . . .]. [. . . μὴ π]ιστεύσητε. ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς
(vac.?)] (vac.) εὔχομαι πολλοῖς
(vac.?)] (vac.) [χρό]νοις.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

κυρι. (vac.?) [. . . . .]. (vac.) Ϲαρμ[άτῃ
Δ[ιόσ]κ[ορος.

3 l. εὐπορηθείς; μοϋ 4 ὔμων 7 l. ἀπετέθη; ὔμας 8 l. θείαν 9 ὔπαρχοντων
12 l. παραδοθείς, τάξει 15 ἴσηχθημεν: l. εἰσήχθημεν, ἀπέστειλεν 16 ανῖκεν: l. ἀνεῖκεν; ὑπο
17 l. τελείως; ανϊκεν: l. ἀνεῖκεν 19 ὔμας?

'To my lady mother and lord brother Sarmates, Dioscorus, greetings.'

'Finding an opportunity in the departure of my lord brother Paeanius I made haste to greet your affectionate selves, then to inform you in connection with the affair of my lord brother Eulogius that it was settled and we are already on our way to you. Moreover, I presented the imperial rescript—the one concerning the property—to my lord Philagrius and records of the proceedings were compiled. Also, after the departure of my lord brother Serenus I had been passed on to the department of the *magister* (*privatae*) and after two days, when Eusebius arrived—for he had gone off to take the *dux* (back?) to Taposiris—we were brought into court and the eunuch sent to him and (he) let me go and had a second set of proceedings

made and let them go completely. . . . Hermias and Didym . . . and their friends to be sent . . . I arrive with you. If you hear . . ., do not believe (it?).'

'I pray for your health for many years.'

Back. 'To my lord brother(?) Sarmates, Dioscorus.'

1 *ἀδελφῷ*. It seems quite likely that Sarmates really is a brother by blood, since he is associated with Dioscorus' mother. Three other persons, Paeanius (3), Eulogius (6), and Serenus (11–12) receive the same appellation and it is probably a courtesy title in at least some of these cases, cf. **3808** introd., **3812** 17 n., **3813–15** introd. para. 2, **3819** introd.

2 *Διόσκορος*. This could possibly be the *ἐπόπτης* of AD 341–2, cf. **3821** introd., L **3575** 3–4 n. The sizes of **3821** and **3820** are very close, which might suggest that they came from the same office. The hands are probably not the same, although quite similar, but there is at least one known case of letters from the same person written in different hands, see P. J. Parsons, *Didactica Classica Gandensia* 20 (1980) 4, citing P. Mich. VIII 490–1. In this certain case it means simply that they were written by two different clerks or one by the correspondent himself and one by a clerk. There is no archaeological connection here: the inventory numbers show that **3820** was excavated during the fifth season at Oxyrhynchus, **3821** during the third season.

3 *μοϋ*. The diaeresis here is a slip, cf. E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, p. 12 (= ed. 2, p. 10).

Παιανίου. This is a rare name, which recalls Flavius Macrobius alias Paeanius, logistes of AD 336 (X **1265** 5, **1303** 1), and the strategus Paeanius of XXII **2344** 1, who may be the same man, cf. LIV pp. 227–8. Cf. Zephyrius son of Paeanius in XVII **2115**, addressed to the logistes of AD 341 (LIV **3774** and pp. 228–9).

4 *ὑμῶν τὴν διάθεσιν*. Cf. H. Zilliacus, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen*, 66, 88. The operative word is mostly equated with *affectus* or *affectio* in the Latin glossaries, e.g. CGL II 271.6–7, and means 'love, affection'.

7 *ἀπεθέτη* = *ἀπετέθη*. For phonetic factors which may have contributed to this metathesis see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 87. Cf. XLIX **3480** 9 *καθεσχέτημεν* = *κατεσχέθημεν*.

8 For rescripts see the literature cited in LI **3611** introd., cf. W. Williams, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 181–207. Evidently this one was to be used in court proceedings.

10 There are five (or possibly only four) persons called Philagrius in PLRE I, but the name is rare and has appeared in the papyri only with reference to the prefect of Egypt Flavius Philagrius (PLRE I 694; add **3794**, XLIII **3129**, P. Col. VII 175). In this fourth century company of imperial rescript, *magister* (*privatae*), and *dux*, I find it too difficult to dissociate the name from the prefect, but it must be admitted that without this background the obvious translation would be, 'I presented the imperial rescript concerning the property belonging to my lord Philagrius'. However, this conflicts with the indications of the context and I find it more convincing to translate, 'I presented the imperial rescript—the one concerning the property—to my lord Philagrius'.

Two statements about Philagrius in PLRE I 694, both based on the fragmentary P. Amh. II 142, should be corrected: 'former governor over ?Heracleopolis' and 'He had a brother who became *praeses Augustamnicae*'. The second clearly derives from the phrase *ἐνέτυχα τῷ σῷ ἀδε[λ]φῷ Φιλαγρίῳ* (10), which is part of the narrative background of a petition to the *praeses Augustamnicae*. It means, 'I petitioned your colleague Philagrius', see LSJ s.v. *ἀδελφός* I. 3. The disputed property lay in the Heracleopolite nome, but 'governor over Heracleopolis' corresponds to no known post. Philagrius received the earlier petition as prefect of Egypt without a doubt.

11–17 This passage is allusive and obscure for us. It tells what happened 'after the departure of my brother Serenus'. One guess might be that Serenus was the last person to bring a letter from Dioscorus to his mother and brother and that only events subsequent to that letter needed to be reported. Dioscorus had then been handed over to the department of the *magister*, a title which in Egypt can hardly refer to anyone but the *magister privatae Aegypti*, cf. C. Balconi, *Aegyptus* 63 (1983) 59–60; add XLIII **3125**, XLIV **3192**, XLV **3247**, XLVIII **3416** introd., LI **3618**. He had to wait, apparently for a hearing by the *magister*, and after two days Eusebius, who had been escorting the *dux Aegypti* to Taposiris, arrived, and Dioscorus and his friends were brought into court. Then, 'the eunuch sent to him and (he?) released me', etc. The most probable interpretation in my view is that Eusebius was the *magister*. The eunuch may well have been Arsacius, who was sent to Egypt with Philagrius when he was appointed prefect for the second time, see

introd., *PLRE* I 110 (2), P. Guyot, *Eunuchen als Sklaven und Freigelassene*, 149, 185. Eusebius was the name of a famous eunuch who seems to have been *praepositus sacri cubiculi* for the whole of the reign of Constantius II, see *PLRE* I 302–3 (11), Guyot, op. cit., 199–201, but there is no reason to expect his presence here, even if he was an Arian and an opponent of Athanasius, and even if he is known to have gone away from court on special missions, see K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves*, 179, Guyot, op. cit., 150, 200.

A plausible story would be that Arsacius acted as general assistant to Philagrius, as well as special advisor or imperial spy in the affair of Athanasius; Philagrius delegated the case of Eulogius (5–6) to the *magister priuatae* (Eusebius); there was a delay because Eusebius (the *magister*) was escorting the *dux* to Taposiris; when the *magister* returned, the eunuch (Arsacius) took the chief part in handing over the case from Philagrius to him; the *magister* held a hearing, of which a written record was made, and released or absolved (*ἀνεῖκεν* 16, 17) both Dioscorus (*με* 16) and the others involved on his side (*αὐτούς* 17), who presumably included Eulogius (5–6). I take it that *ὁ εὐνοῦχος* is the subject of *ἀπέστειλεν* only; the subject of *ἀνεῖκεν* (16), *ἔπραξεν* (17), and *ἀνεῖκεν* (17) should be the *magister*, to whose department the affair, presumably a case affecting the *ratio priuata* without any connection with Athanasius, had been delegated and who alone could conduct the hearing and pronounce a verdict.

12 *ἥμην παραδοθίς* (= *-θείς*); cf. 13–14 *ἦν ἀπελθών*. For these periphrastic forms see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 305–7, esp. 306 para. d. Cf. **3808** 6–7, **3819** 14–15.

13–14 *ἦν ἀπελθών*. Cf. 12 n.

14 *δοῦκα*. On the *comes et dux Aegypti* see R. Rémondon, *CE* 40 (1965) 180–97, esp. 191–2. See introd. for the possible identity of this *dux* with Valacius (*PLRE* I 929; add CPR V 10.6 and n., **3793** 4 and n.). The *praeses Thebaidos* mentioned with Valacius in CPR V 10 is said to appear also in an unpublished text dated to AD 339, see *ZPE* 29 (1978) 271, cf. *ZPE* 47 (1982) 223 n. 71. The beginning of Valacius' term is still not well fixed, but this may encourage us to envisage the possibility that it went back to AD 339, or even further, see now also **3793** 4 n.

Ταπόσιριν. There were two places of this name, the well-known Taposiris Magna, about twenty-five miles west of Alexandria, and Taposiris Parva, on the canal running east from Alexandria. Strabo's words, *ἥ τε μικρὰ Ταπόσειρις μετὰ τὴν Νικόπολιν* (XVII c. 800 *ad fin.*), rather imply that it was not far beyond Nicopolis, itself only about three and a half miles east of Alexandria.

15 *ὁ εὐνοῦχος*. On eunuchs at court see F. G. B. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 82–3, P. Guyot, *Eunuchen*, 69–233, K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves*, 172–96, esp. 179 on their special missions away from court. For more on eunuchs in general see T. Drew-Bear, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 4 (1984) 139–49, esp. 141–2. See introd. and above 11–17 n. for a possible identification.

16 The fact that the proceedings of this hearing are called *δεύτερα ὑπομνήματα*, cf. 10, rather than *ἄλλα* or *ἕτερα ὑπομνήματα*, strongly suggests that the case was still the affair of Eulogius (5–6), cf. 11–17 n.

17 It is not clear who *αὐτούς* are. I take it that they are associates of Dioscorus and Eulogius, cf. 15 *ἰσήχθημεν* (= *εἰσ-*).

18–20 For the moment I envisage restoring something like *ποίησο]ν* (*ποιήσω* and *ποιήσατε* do not suit the remains) and *-μον* (or *-μην*) *ὅτα]ν*, 'Have H. and D. and their associates brought along when I arrive with you'. An attractive alternative would be something like *κελεύω]ν . . . Δίδυ[μον*. This would give, '. . . released them, ordering H. and D. and their associates to be brought to court', cf. *WB* s.v. *παραπέμπειν* (3). *Δίδυ[μον* and *Διδύ[μην* are the most likely possibilities, leaving very little space for the link forward. One might try *πρὶ]ν ὑμᾶς καταλαμβάνω* (why not aor. subj.?), *ἐάν κτλ.*, 'Until I arrive with you, if you hear . . ., do not believe (it?)'. This seems less attractive than a formulation with strong punctuation after *καταλαμβάνω*.

23 There appears to be a short stretch of blank papyrus after *κυρι*, and before the edge of the break. Possibly the ink has been entirely removed and we ought to read and restore the expected *κυρίῳ [μου ἀδελφ]ῷ*.

3821. Dioscorus to Heras

38 3B.79/K(3-4)a 15.5 × 24.5 cm *c.*341 2

The name and title of the sender, Dioscorus overseer (*ἐπόπτης*) of the Oxyrhynchite nome, enable us to date this letter roughly. The title has appeared only in connection with this man and only in the years AD 341–2, see L **3575** 3–4 n., although it may be that P. Monac. III 69, as has been suggested by its editor, Professor Hagedorn, concerns the institution of the same office in the Arsinoite area at about the same time.

Dated private letters are rare after the first century AD, so it is of some palaeographical use to have another one which is datable, see Plate VIII. There is a possibility that the Dioscorus of the previous item is the same, see **3820** introd.

The content is slight. Dioscorus wrote to Heras, who was at Heracleopolis, recommending to him a certain Heraclius who intended to go to Heracleopolis to settle business relating to a man who owed him money. Since at least two of the documents mentioning Dioscorus, L **3576** and **3578**, reveal his dealings with the court of the *praeses* of Augustamnica, Flavius Julius Ausonius, and since that *praeses* dated his official letter published as L **3577** from Heracleopolis, it is worth mentioning the possibility that Heras was there on the same sort of judicial business, cf. 1 n. Note that Heracleopolis was not the permanent residence of the *praeses*; **3576** shows his court at Pelusium.

Something is needed to explain how the letter came to be excavated at Oxyrhynchus. The usual thing would have been for Heraclius himself to carry the letter to its destination. Heraclius may not after all have gone to Heracleopolis, or the letter may have been taken there and brought back. In 11 n. I argue that it was brought back by Heras.

The farewell formula is written in the same hand as the rest, suggesting the possibility that this is a file copy written entirely by a clerk, but against that are the address on the back and the whole appearance of the letter, which was evidently found folded up for sending in the usual way. There are seven vertical creases dividing the piece into eight panels of increasing width from right to left, except that the panel on the extreme left is again narrower than its neighbours on the right. It is clear that the letter was rolled up with the right edge inside and squashed flat, and that then the exposed left edge was tucked into the resulting flat packet. The address was written on one of the flat sides, which is the third panel from the right, now that we are viewing the letter from the back. This panel and its neighbour on the right are encrusted with mud, so that it is clear that the letter lay in its folded shape until it was found.

The piece has a sheet-join running vertically *c.*3.5 cm from the right edge, which makes it obvious that the letter was written along the fibres of the recto.

κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ (vac.) Ἡρᾷ
(vac.) Διόσκορος.
Ἡράκλειος ὁ ἡμέτερος πρὸς τὴν
σὴν εὐγένειαν εἰς τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἀπήν-
τησεν. τούτῳ οὖν ἀξιῶ τὴν σὴν
εὐγένειαν συνάρασθαι. χρεώστου γὰρ
αὐτοῦ ἕνεκεν ἀπήντησεν εἰς
τὴν Ἡρακλέους. ἀλλὰ μὴ παρείδῃς
μου τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ἄδελφε. καὶ αὐτὸς
οὖν κέλευέ μοι περὶ ὧν βούλει
ἐπὶ τῆς ἡδείας ἡδέως ἔχοντι.
ἐρρωμένον σὲ ἡ θία πρόνοια
διαφυλάξαι εὖ πράττοντα,
κύριε.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ (vac.) Ἡρᾷ
Διόσκορος ἐπόπτης Ὀξ(υρυγχίτου).

6 l. εὐγένειαν 8 l. παρίδῃς 11 l. ἰδίας 12 l. θεία 13 πρατ'τοντα 16 οξ.'?

'To my lord brother Heras, Dioscorus. Our man Heraclius has set out to visit your Nobility in Heracleopolis. So I beg your Nobility to assist him, for he has set out to visit Heracleopolis because of his debtor. Do not overlook my request, brother. So do command me yourself about what you want at home and I shall be pleased.'

'May the divine providence keep you well (and) in good circumstances, lord.'

Back. 'To my lord brother Heras, Dioscorus overseer of the Oxyrhynchite nome.'

1 The addressee could be Aurelius Heras son of Agathodaemon, 'doorkeeper of the public accounting-office' in Oxyrhynchus, who appears with Dioscorus in L **3576** and, presumably, in P. Harris I 65, see **3576** 4 n., 18–19 n. However, the name is common and the identification therefore uncertain. That Heras was an Oxyrhynchite, although the letter is addressed to him in Heracleopolis, is indicated in lines 9–11, see 11 n.

4, 6 *εὐγένειαν*. Cf. H. Zilliacus, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen* 68, 88, where its use as an honorific address to women is emphasized, but see WB III Abschn. 9 s.v. (p. 188). Flavius Abinnaeus is so addressed by four of his correspondents, see P. Abinn. 9.3, 7; 12.14; 30.10; 33.6.

11 *ἡδείας* = *ἰδίας*. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 237 (*ι* > *η* in the first syllable of words of this root). On *ἰδία* see H. Kupiszewski, *JJP* 9–10 (1955–6) 211–338, esp. 216–17 on the informal sense of it here, 'home'. Although the loss of aspiration and the progress of itacistic pronunciation (Gignac, op. cit. i 133–8, 235–42) meant that in this period *ἰδίας* and *ἡδείας* were homophones, I think no word play with *ἡδύς* was intended, although the imminence of *ἡδέως* may have affected the spelling.

The sense is probably 'at (y)our home here' rather than 'at (y)our home there', because other versions of this invitation, frequent in letters, have such wording as *γράφε δὲ καὶ σύ, ἐάν τινος χρείαν ἔχῃς τῶν παρ'ἡμῶν* (P. Mich. I 23.8, cf. 85.5 . . . *τῶν παρ'ἡμῖν, ὡς ἡμῶν ἡδέω[ς] ποιησόντων*); *περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐὰν χρήζῃς τῶν ἐνθάδε* . . . (P. Corn. 49.8–9); *περὶ ὧν χρήζεις παρ'ἐμοί* . . . *ἡδέως ποιοῦντι* (PSI VIII 971.23–7); *περὶ ὧν θέλις ἐνταῦθα ἡδέως ποιοῦντι* (P. Grenf. II 73.19–20). These references are culled from H. Steen, 'Les

clichés épistolaires', *Classica et Mediaevalia* 1 (1938) 128 30. The implication is that Heras is an Oxyrhynchite, which does something to support the guesses that he may have brought the letter back to Oxyrhynchus from Heracleopolis, see introd., and that he may be the same as Heras son of Agathodaemon, associated with Dioscorus in other documents, see 1 n.

12 For similar forms of farewell cf. P. Abinn. 28.27–8, M. Naldini, *Cristianesimo* No. 41.20–5 (explicitly Christian), No. 55.26–7 (as plausibly emended by Gerhard, P. Heid. I 6.24 ff. n.). 'Divine providence' is not unequivocally Christian, see Naldini, op. cit. p. 14.

13 *διαφυλάξαι*. The ending might be either *-αι* or *-ειε(ν)*, but *-αι* seems to be rarer, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 360–1, C. Harsing, *De optativi in chartis Aegyptiis usu* 21. On this type of farewell and the variations of the verb ending see especially I. Gelzer, *Hermes* 74 (1939) 167–75, cf. P. Nepheros 7.12–13 n.

16 Cf. introd.

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Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in *LSJ* or Suppl. The article is not indexed.

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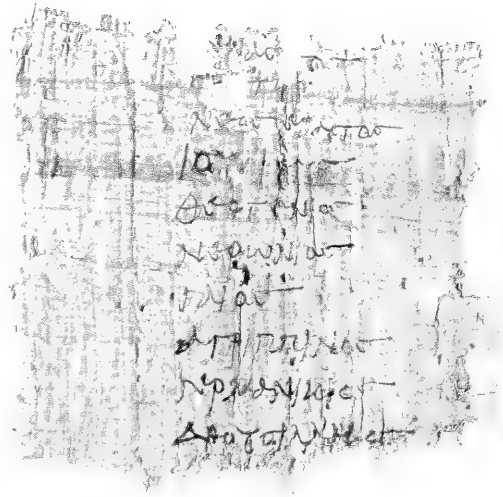

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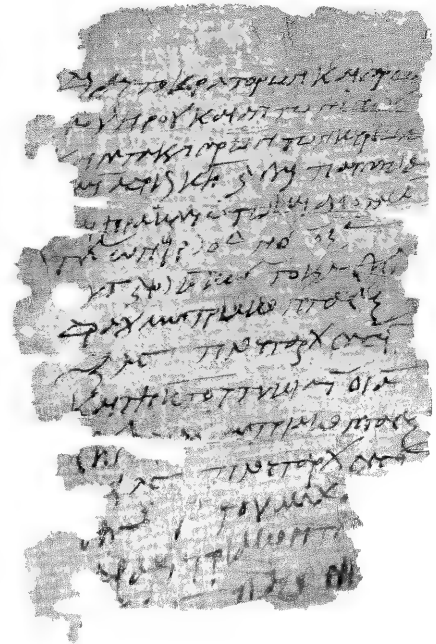

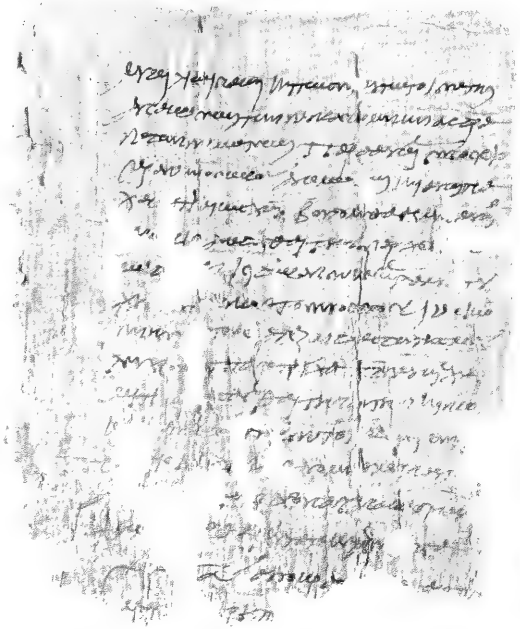

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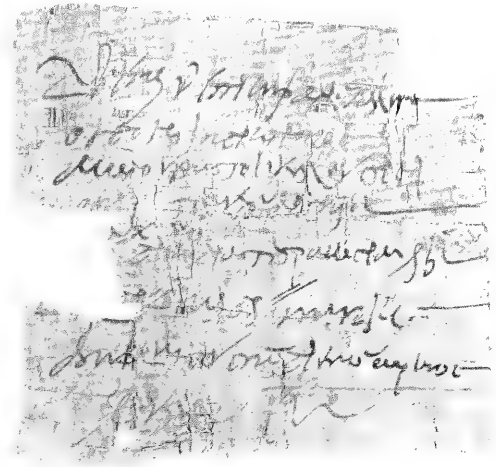

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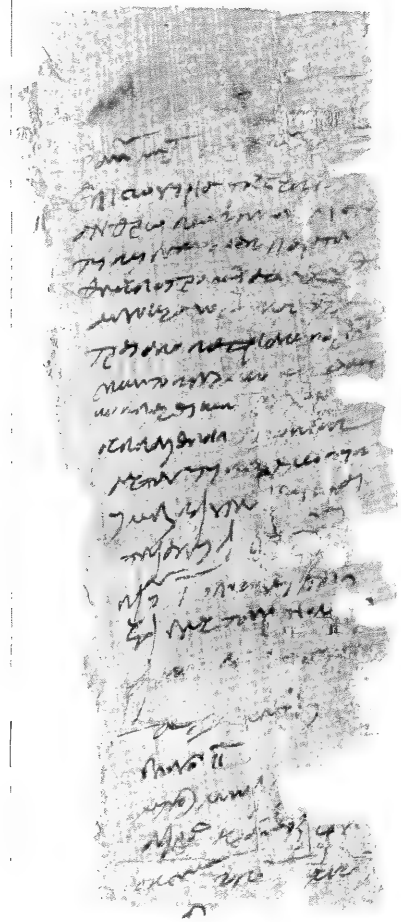

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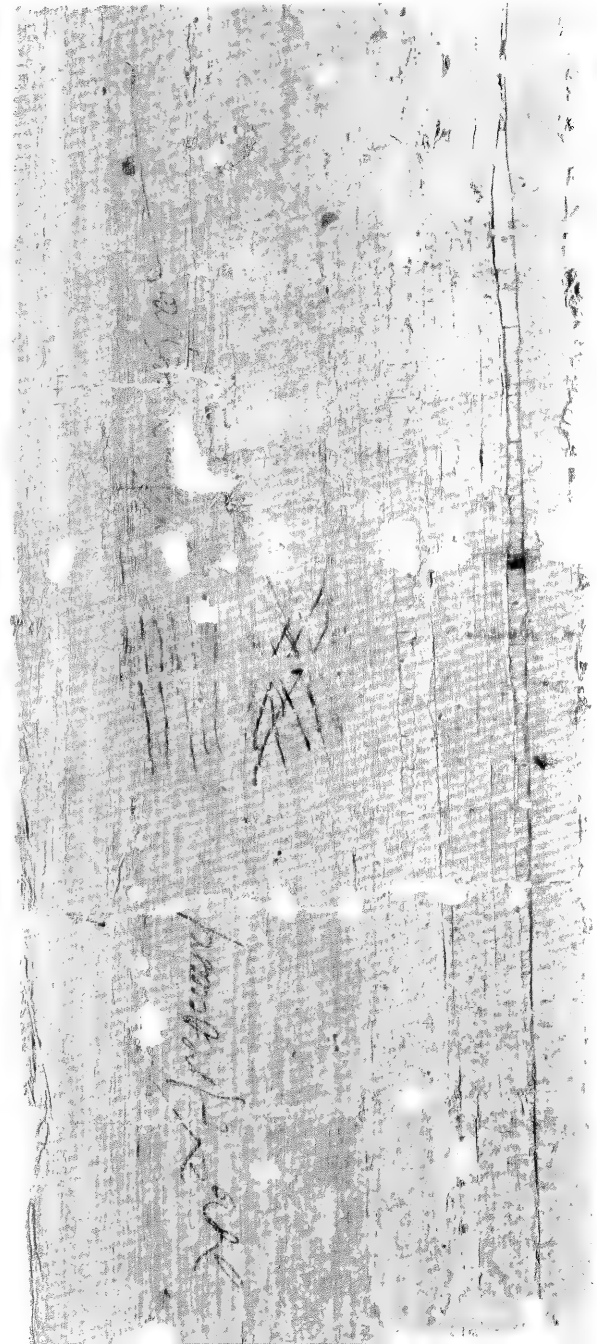

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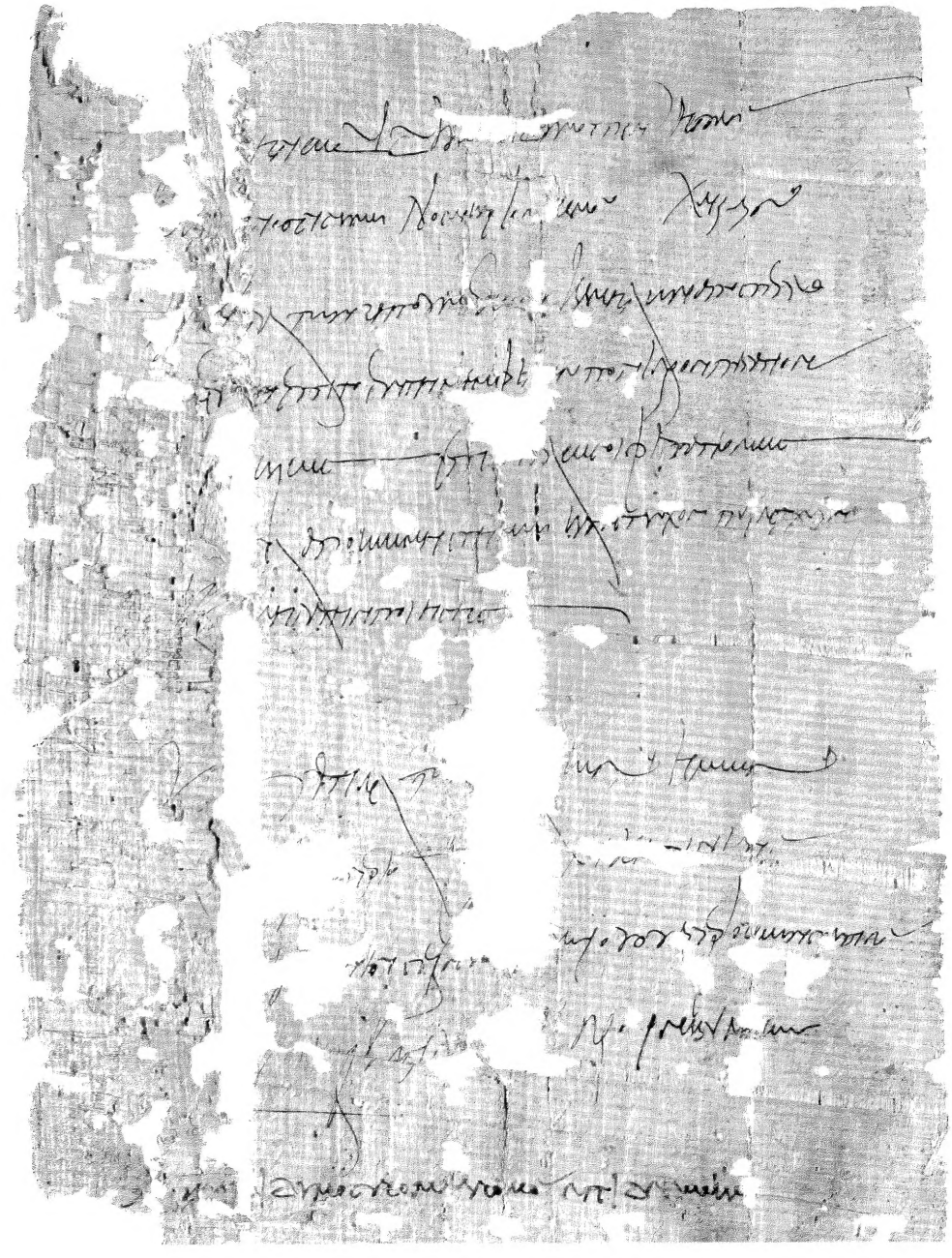

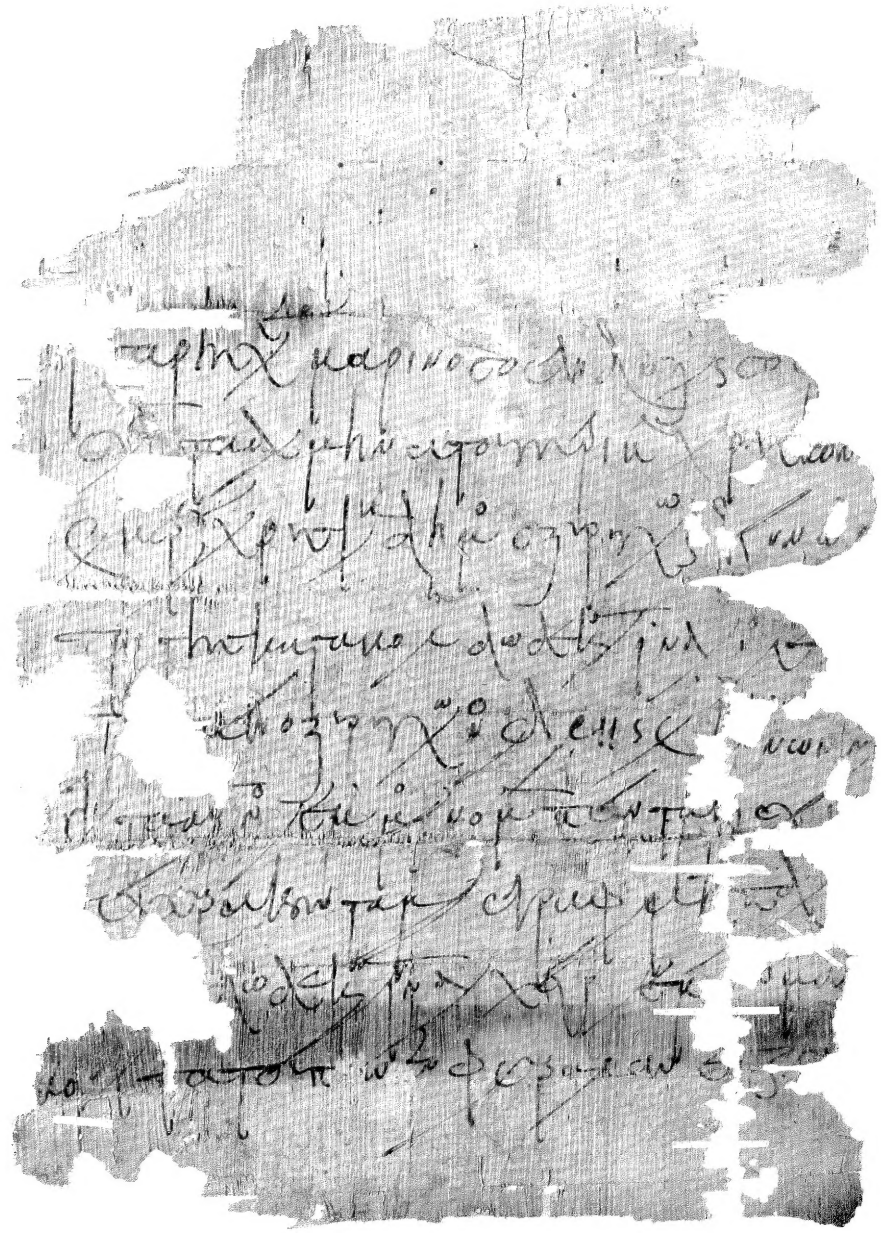

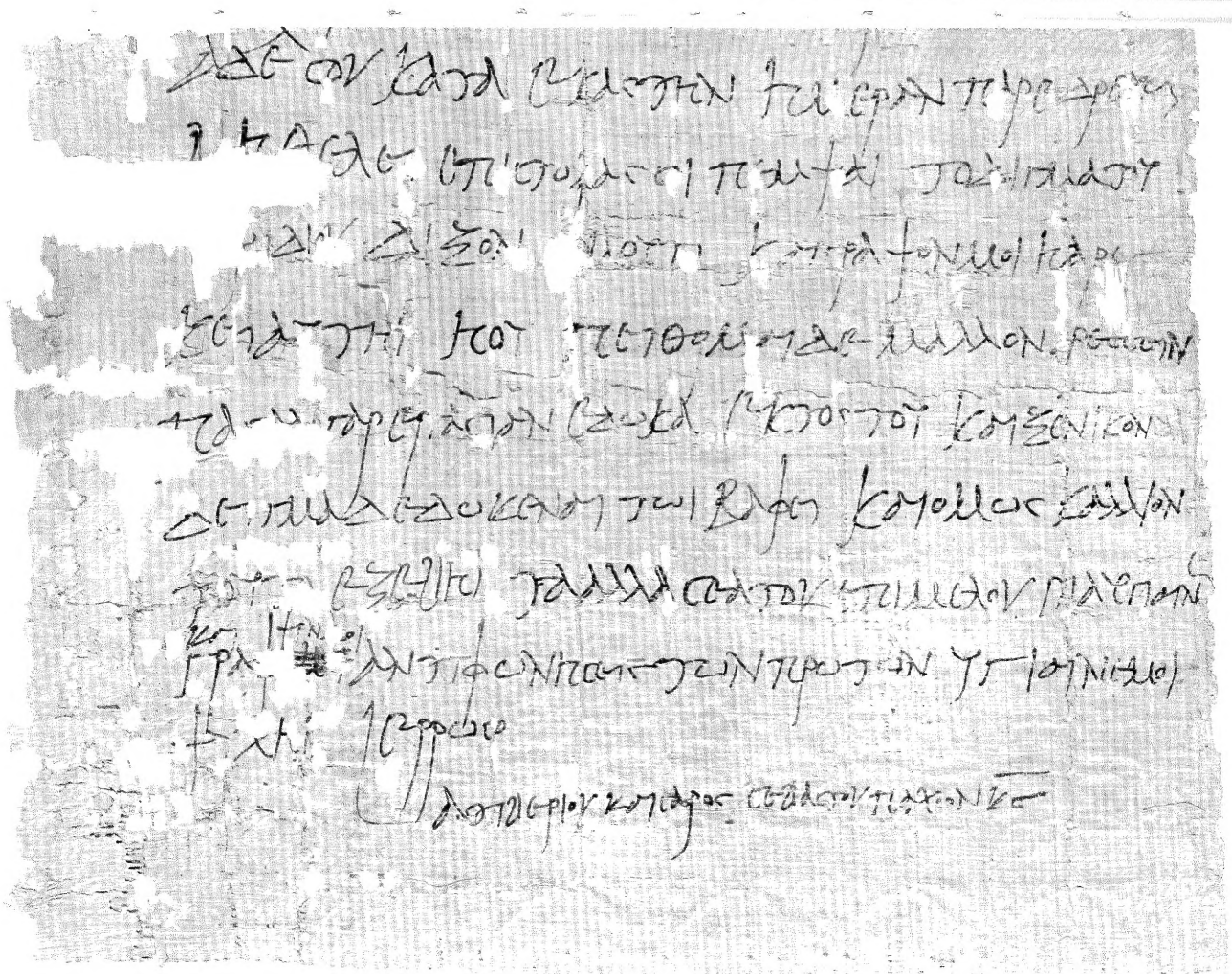
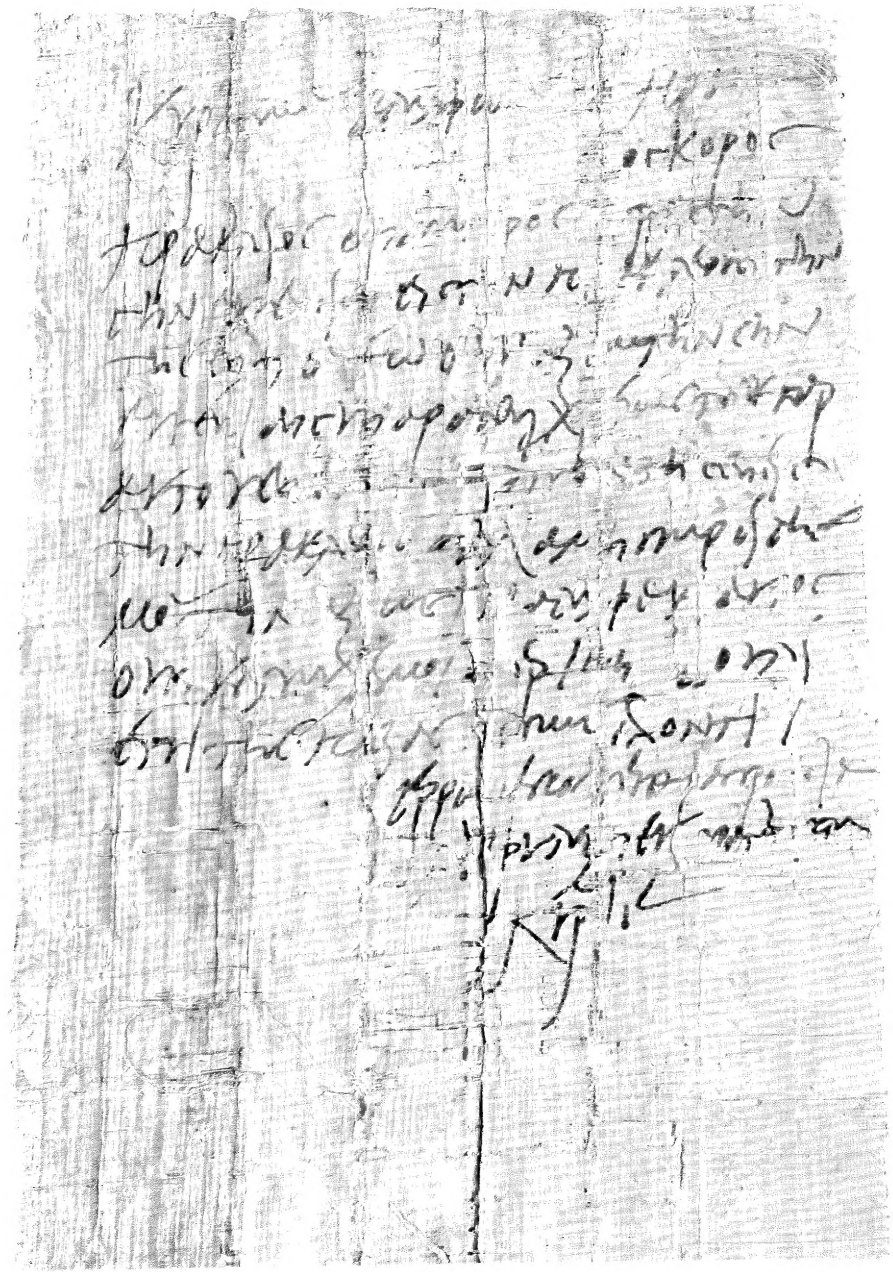
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